

THE RELATION OF PAUL
TO PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

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THE RELATION OF PAUL TO PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

I. History of the Discussion of the Problem.

The problem of the relation of Paul to early tradition about Jesus is essentially modern. It was noted by Erasmus (Troeltsch, Protestantism and Progress, p.257), but the exigencies of the Roman controversy drove Protestant theologians to a very high theory of the inspiration of the Bible, and until the present hour wherever the verbal theory has held the field, this problem has had no existence. Wherever the writers of the various books of the Bible are regarded as the passive instruments of the Holy Spirit, the finality and as well the homogeneity of every part of the Book has been assured. Divergences everywhere melt into agreements and the unity of Jesus, Paul, and the primitive Christian church can not be questioned. But as this view, based upon a priori theories of what a divinely inspired book ought to be, has given way to a more adequate conception, based upon the facts of the Bible, this among many other problems has emerged. It was first investigated, in modern times, by Paret in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1853. He opposed the older dogmatic view which refused to see the problem on the one hand and the already partially formulated views of the Tübingen school on the other.

So many shades of opinion with reference to this problem are held that hard and fast lines of classification can not be set. However because of its aid to clearness and mindful that no differences in reality are obliterated by it, the following outline of the general positions revealed in the literature

will be used: (1) Those who deny any vital relationship between Paul and the historical Jesus. (2) Those who admit that Paul knew considerable about the historical Jesus, but had little or no interest in him as compared with the exalted Christ. (3) Those who believe that the relationship between Paul and the earthly Jesus is so close as to be accounted for only by the Apostle's dependence upon the latter.

1. No relationship between Paul and the historical Jesus.

This along with a number of problems connected with the criticism of the New Testament and its consequents received a marked impetus from the work of Ferdinand Christian Baur in his *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* (3d edition, 1865); *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (1864); and *Paulus der Apostel* (1866; trans., *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1875). Baur was controlled by the Hegelian thought of history as following thesis, antithesis and synthesis and corresponding to it constructed the history of the early church as Judaism, Paulinism and Catholicism. Paul stood in opposition to the Judaistic type of Christianity of the early church which sprang from Jesus, so Baur was committed to a denial of any relationship between Paul and Jesus historically. Paul's message was not that of the historical Jesus in whom he had no interest, but of the crucified and risen Messiah whence came his Christian teaching. The reasons for the collapse of this theory are rather evident, for in its simplicity it overlooked many facts. Neither Judaism nor Paulinism were as homogeneous, as Baur sought to represent them, and his Marcionistic attitude, as well as that of the Tübingen

school he founded, toward Paul and Jewish Christianity has been repudiated generally as unwarranted by the facts. His thought of the antithesis between Jesus and Paul in their attitudes toward the law Paul supports by his contention that the Jesus of Nazareth is really not to be found in the Pauline writings.

Otto Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus* (1873; transl., *Paulinism*, 1877) and *Das Urchristentum* (2nd edition, 1902; transl., *Primitive Christianity*, 1906) and Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus* (1898) reached the same general conclusions by slightly varying channels. They agreed that Paul's desire for righteousness and his recognition of the limitations of the law, the force of his intuitive thought, led to his conversion. In deriving not only his theology, but his conception of the impotence of the law and even his conversion from thought processes, both seem singularly oblivious to the effect upon himself of what Paul both saw and experienced. Pfleiderer in denying Paul's dependence on Jesus minimizes his originality by reducing his work to a rehash, largely, of borrowed ideas. Neither this nor the technically psychological explanation of Holsten, no more than the so-called vision hypothesis - all of which seek to account for Paul on the basis of cause and effect - really explain the facts. There were psychological points of contact, but a comparison of the Messianic thought and the moral ideal of the Pharisee with that of Paul the Christian will demonstrate not development but transformation which resulted not so much from logic as from experience. See P. Feine, *St. Paul as a Theologian*, II: 1-13.

A new lease on life was given the "Paul and Jesus" ques-

tion in Germany when Wrede's Paulus appeared in 1905. He asserted that there is no historical dependence between them and that it is erroneous to say Paul understood Jesus. Whatever relationship there is between them is due to their common inheritance from Judaism. Jesus' fundamental attitude toward the law and his thought of God in terms of his love for men, so that they need not be anxious, he claims is not in Paul. The moral imperatives of Jesus give way to belief in the death and resurrection of a heavenly being in Paul's thought. Not Jesus but "Paulus hat das Christentum zur Erlösungsreligion gemacht." (s.173) "Jesus weiss von dem was für Paulus das ein und alles ist - nichts." (s.94) Wrede derives Paul's thought of Christ from the Messianic ideas of the Apocalypitics which he referred to the crucified Jesus. Because of the gulf between Paul and the primitive Christians, he calls the apostle "der zweite Stifter des Christentums." (s.104) Wrede has a clear effective literary style and even Johannes Weiss, who defends Paul's dependence on Jesus, admits his thought is in part at least unshaken that Paul's view of redemption is an innovation. (Paul and Jesus, section 2) To those who would argue that Paul found and did not create the idea, Wrede would say there had been a break already from the thought of the earthly Jesus. A study of this position makes clear that Wrede has underestimated Paul's knowledge of Jesus, has exaggerated the differences between them, too little noted their greater agreements, has failed to consider development as a possible explanation of the apparent contradictions between them and has offered no satisfactory explanation for the transformation of Paul's preChristian views.

Brückner, *Die Entstehung der paulinischen Theologie* (1903), was a pupil of Wrede's and followed his teacher, save that he connected Paul and his teaching with the past and present and left it all less isolated than was Wrede's thought of Paul. Brückner is an enthusiastic eschatologist and discusses at length the Enochian Son of man, a pre-existent heavenly being, and all his powers, adding by means of the *argumentum de silentio* that in his kingdom the Jewish law would not be valid. All this and more Paul took over and inserted in it the story he had heard of the death and resurrection of Jesus. He gives us nothing essentially about the earthly Jesus and even disparages his humanity by calling it an impoverishment, an emptying of his being. Salvation comes through the acts of the heavenly king whose attributes, both ethical and metaphysical, are from not the human Jesus but the pre-Christian Messiah. Paul's teaching then, in so far as it is not from Jewish Messianic thought, Brückner derives from the apocalyptic teaching of Daniel, Enoch, Ezra, and Baruch and not from either his experience or from Jesus. A. Schweitzer notes that Wrede and Brückner by adding the death and resurrection to the Messianic thought already present reach at once the deification of the person of Jesus and refute the weightiest objection of the ultra-Tübingen critics that that would require two generations. (Paul and his Interpreters.)

Baur's successor, Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, ('86 and '92, tr., *The Apostolic Age*,), held the same general thought of Paul as that indicated above. He grants to practical moral-religious motives a larger place than any previously



mentioned and while Paul made no use of the earthly Jesus, he admits he may have known something about the gospel tradition. This is essentially the position also of Weinel, *Paulus der Mensch und sein Werk* ('04; tr., *St. Paul, the Man and his Work*, '06). R. Roberts who precipitated the "Jesus or Christ" controversy in the *Hibbert Journal* in 1909 argues that the Jesus of the Gospels is unknown in Apostolic literature and that that would be more clearly and generally seen, if there was consistent distinction in the use of "Jesus" and "Christ". J.H. Moulton in his reply in a succeeding issue cited not only errors of fact in Roberts' discussion, but suggested that Paul's relative indifference to the earthly Jesus was due to his realization of the transcendent significance of the universal Christ. The problem of the distinction between Jesus and Christ is modern with no clear evidence of its existence in Paul's day.

If the demand be made that Paul give a resumé of the events of Jesus' life or of his Kingdom of God teaching, there is much that this general point of view admirably explains. The historical data his epistles contain are troublesome, however, and must be spirited away somehow. This view-point does not and can not explain how a Pharisee reached a new conception like Paul's, nor either a new life of love for another race. None of the above scholars anywhere give sufficient consideration to the fact that Paul was a practical missionary and not a systematic theologian. Jülicher asserts that Paul is not a dogmatist or a theologian and charges Wrede with considering Paul's theology only and ignoring his piety. That criticism applies to every one thus far considered, for in each

case Paul's teaching has been portrayed as if the product of logic and not of experience. He had a definite program of evangelization that included the "care of all the churches" and is to be understood from this missionary point of view.

"What God hath joined together let not man put asunder" may be applied to the attempt to separate logic and experience as sources of Paul's work, but interest in the practical rather than the theoretical produced it. To give a greater place to his piety is to note to a greater degree his experience as a source of his thought, to see that Christ was more to him than Christology and life than theology.

2. Paul may have known about Jesus, but was indifferent to him.

A.B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, ('94), and *The Kingdom of God* ('09), thinks it likely that the biography of Jesus was nothing to Paul, but that his teaching about the Lord and Savior, based on the earthly life, was everything to him. (*The Kingdom of God*, p.334). In his thought the spiritual apprehension of Jesus was so much more important than the physical that the big question was not who had the most accurate facts about him, but who had the best spiritual insight into his nature. This position involved at least relative indifference to the historical facts about Jesus. Bruce seems to take little account of the demands of Paul's practical missionary work which finds larger recognition in Harnack, *The Spiritual Development of Paul* ('90). The latter contends that "in his earliest Epistles we look in vain for any historical reminiscence of the man Christ Jesus" (p.98), and that instead of resorting to some of the twelve upon his conversion he goes to

the Old Testament to find out what the Messiah was to be and then concludes that that is what he was. That, he insists, was not unnatural when we see that the chief objection to Christianity among the Jews in Paul's day was its unscripturalness. However the demands of the growing work among the Gentiles later compelled him to give more attention to the facts which he received from Peter, James and others in perfectly natural ways. This conclusion but for a leaning toward Paul's indifference to the facts he possessed would put Matheson in the next group. So also in the case of Glock, *Die Gesetzesfrage im Leben Jesu und in der Lehre des Paulus* ('85), who stresses the law as the vital point in understanding the relation of Jesus and Paul. That there was such a relation he believes, but it was not a close one and it was based not on definite knowledge about the earthly Jesus, so much as on a general idea of his spirit in his ambiguous attitude toward the law in this particular.

Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (Tr., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, '03), agrees at many points with Weizsäcker and Meinel and perhaps they should be discussed together, as does Kölbinger (*Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus*, '06), but the inconsistency of Wernle's position and the consistent attitude of the other two affords some justification for the distinction here followed. To Wernle Paul had no acquaintance with the human Jesus nor with the accounts of the Apostles whom he a long time avoided. The latter thought Jesus a prophet and a teacher; Paul's Jesus was a resurrected redeemer, the heavenly being of his earlier thought. Paul consequently did not mediate the historical paradox

so much as he freed Christianity from this tradition. However with the much that he says about Paul's independence and his lack of interest in the earthly Jesus, Wernle is sometimes inconsistent. He admits that Paul in his moral ideals was inspired by Jesus, that he best understood him, that he simply followed the logic of Jesus to its implicit conclusion and even that he may have been much influenced by him. H.J.Holtzmann, Zum Thema "Jesus und Paulus", (Prot. Monatshefte, '07, s. 313ff.), is about right in interpreting him as taking middle ground in combining Paul's complete independence with a measure of influence from the historical Jesus. Some of his antitheses result from his over-stressing minor differences. For example he too much emphasizes the humanity of Jesus as given in Mark and over against that makes too much out of the pre-existence of Christ in Paul's thought.

Arnold Meyer, Wer hat das Christentum begründet?, ('07; tr., Jesus or Paul, '09), held that Paul's tradition about Jesus was mediated by the primitive Apostles and that his statement that it was not from men meant simply that the source of his information had been forgotten and that he was unconscious of the extent of the influence of the early Christians upon him. However Meyer claims not only that Paul and Jesus are often far apart, but that Paul's Christ and the Jesus of Nazareth are sometimes even further apart. "Das Wesen unsrer Religion stammt von Christus her" (s.93) and because Paul experienced Christ, not the earthly, he contends that the unity between the Apostle and the Nazarene is that not of real relationship, but of similarity.

These views are typical of those who fall within this group. Something of a departure is marked by Schweitzer in his "Paul and his Interpreters" ('12). His estimates and criticisms of the German literature on this subject, even though they are made in the spirit of the controversialist, are brilliant. He especially emphasizes eschatology and regards it as not only the key to understanding Paul, but the explanation of the relatively little use of him by Ignatius and Justin in the second century. He did good service in calling attention to late Jewish writings, e.g. Ezra and Baruch, as a possible source for Paul's thought even though he exaggerated their place. Then he pointed out that interpreters of Paul generally had been too largely leaving primitive Christianity out of account, that the development of difference between Jesus and early Christian thought preceded Paul, and that accordingly the "new", Paul did not create but found.

A prominent American representative of this group is A.C. McGiffert, *Was Jesus or Paul the Founder of Christianity?* (American Journal of Theology, '09), who gives a divided answer to the question. Paul in wide ranges of his thought shows no contact with the thought of Jesus and so of the most of historical Christianity Paul is the author and founder. On the other hand he notes it would not have been without Jesus and that directly from Him has the piety of Paul and the church come. Nowhere, however, does McGiffert give consideration to the extent that differences here are natural and to be expected, nor to the possibility that they might be the result of logical development in which case differences would not be significant

unless they implied a contradiction of Jesus.

3. The relationship between Paul and Jesus makes dependence probable.

There are so many scholars whose investigations and conclusions lead to the probability of Paul's dependence on Jesus that it will be possible here to notice some of the more significant only and they have so much in common in their work that it will suffice to call attention to that either most significant or most distinctive in their discussions of the theme. Alfred Resch, *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu* ('04), finds so many correspondences between Paul and Jesus that a written source seems the only possible explanation.

"Ohne die Benützung einer schriftlichen Quelle wäre eine solche systematisch durchgeführte Derivation der paulinischen Sprachelemente von den Reden Jesu absolut undenkbar."

(s.516) He assumes that this written source was the Aramaic source of our Gospel of Matthew and that he probably studied it during his Arabian sojourn. In support of this theory, which has little acceptance, he brings together a mass of material at an expense of industry quite worthy of any German savant.

There are only eight parables of Jesus to which he does not find reference in Paul's writings. The value of some good things, however, he vitiates by seeing relations where they probably do not exist. Similar phraseology does not necessarily indicate dependence and these similarities he gives us with no attempt to classify their probability. The literary likenesses are often so trivial that it is plainly evident

Resch has not "allowed for the wind" with reference to the historicity of the gospel tradition. S.J. Case, Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples (American Journal of Theology, 11:269ff.), criticises him for making the Logia the chief source and the original community the secondary when the fact was probably the reverse. K. Lake similarly, Did Paul use the Logia? (American Journal of Theology, 10:104ff.), finds the source of Paulinism much more in Paul hostile to the Apostolic preaching. In reading Resch it is difficult not to feel that he began with his theory and arranged his material accordingly. This criticism of finding reflections of Jesus' sayings in Paul too readily applies almost equally well to Sturm, Der Apostel Paulus und die evangelische Überlieferung (1900).

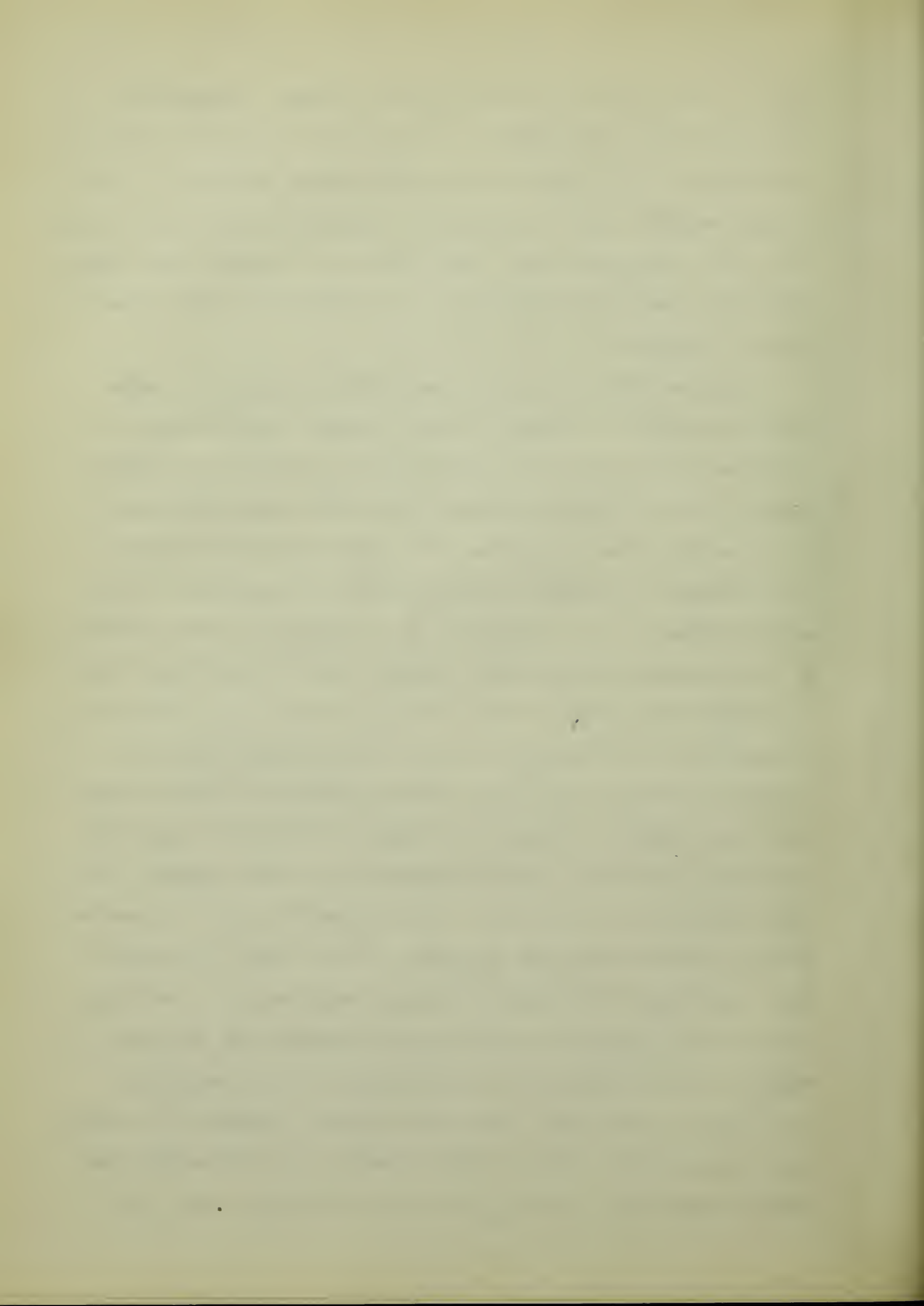
That not enough attention has been paid to Paul's connection with the primitive church, stressed by Feine, Jülicher, Schweitzer, Case and others was noted even earlier by Drummond, The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ ('01). He argued that while Paul does not always agree with Acts he is in general and fundamental agreement with Peter and James and so possesses a definite relation to Jesus. In particular he believes these three to be in agreement as to the relation to Jesus' death to the sins of men and that where there is a difference it is often in phraseology only. This is essentially Denney's position in the Death of Christ in which he asserts that this thought of the death of Jesus was in every Apostolic sermon and so was not Paulinism, but the Christianity of Christ.

One of the most thorough and well balanced discussions of this subject is that of Paul Feine, *Jesus und Paulus* ('02). Goguel thinks he has a tendency to insist on the common between Paul and Jesus and to minimize their differences, but that is not nearly so evident as in the case of Sturm. While he argues for Paul's dependence on Jesus, he never avoids the differences, but seeks to account for them. He fell in line with the position reached earlier by Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus* ('92; tr., *Die Lehre Jesu.*), who held that Paul's epistles may be used for estimating the historical trustworthiness of the gospels and that we may reason from them "to the actual contents of the conceptions and teaching of Jesus which they presuppose". (vol. I:29) He agreed further with Wendt, Heinrici, Sanday, Drummond, Kaftan and others that Paul's thought about the person of Christ found its source in Jesus' thought of his Messiahship.

Few treatments of this problem are more suggestive than that of E. Goguel, *L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ* ('04). He thinks Paul knew more about Jesus than the epistles show and that there was much agreement between them especially in ethical teaching. However real differences between them existed of which Paul was unconscious. "Jesus prêche salut, Paul enseigne le comment du salut" (p.110), and in his thought about the Parousia, redemption, Christology and sacraments went beyond the Nazarene, but nowhere to the point of fundamental conflict. Goguel gave too little thought to primitive Christianity and his fellow countryman, M. Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament* ('06), supplemented him at that

point. His contention is that James, I Peter, Hebrews and Paul's epistles all reflect the same oral catechism in outline and from it we may reason to the oral gospel anterior to our written records. At this point O. Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus* ('04; tr., *Das Leben Jesu*, '01), goes on to assert that Paul's epistles convey more information about Jesus than any other in the New Testament.

Johannes Weiss, *Paul and Jesus* ('09, section 3), says the most effective answers to this problem, affirmative and negative respectively, have been given by K lbing and Wrede. K lbing, *Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus* ('06), argues that in any case the gulf between them is not great enough to exclude the possibility of dependence. Then on the ground of the inadequacy of the heavenly Christ theory and the fundamental agreement between Paul and the human Jesus in thought and piety as well as the witness of the former, he contends that the possible is not only probable, but more probable than anything else, because supported by all we know about the creative influence of Jesus. With this strong and convincing discussion Johannes Weiss in the main agrees, but some differences seem almost insurmountable to him. He seriously questions the view of Kaftan, Feine, Wendt and others that the thought of Christ as coequal with God is a continuation of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. He believes Paul's view of redemption was something of an innovation, but does not adequately treat the apparent oneness of the earliest churches with Paul on the subject. He takes account of Paul's experience, the demands of his missionary work, and



stresses knowledge of the earthly life of Jesus as the corrective of Paul's pre-Christian views. To him the key of their relationship is found in life and not dogma.

Julius Kaftan, *Jesus und Paulus* ('06) agrees with Wrede in thinking redemption central in Paul's preaching, but holds that Paul does not so much develop as experience it. He agrees with Jülicher, *Paulus und Jesus* ('07), in arguing that Paul's belief, if not found in Jesus, usually existed in the early church before him. The latter holds that Paul followed Jesus, the implicit in his thought, or his own predecessors, and apparent differences between them are due (1) to the nature and training of Paul, (2) to the conversion of Paul and the break in his life, and (3) to the difference in the historical situation. The cross and the resurrection lay between them and that necessitated an interpretation of Jesus. With Jülicher further, with Deissmann, *Paulus* ('11), and others Kaftan enters a protest against the false picture of Paul presented by Wrede, Holsten and many others, because they think of him as a philosopher or a systematic theologian. It is because no real system exists he argues that what is "Hauptsache" for Wrede becomes "Nebensache" for Holsten and vice versa. This more radical group who so conceive Paul usually give too little place to his subjective experience and practical motives. The same point of view troubles some of the quite conservative, as for example the following: "There was one man in the earthly church who faced all the facts contained in the life and ministry of Jesus as a completed whole and from the facts deduced a faith which was a system of correlated doctrines and beliefs.

That was the Apostle Paul." D.A.Hayes, Paul and his Epistles ('15, p.130). More important than teaching was the inner life to both Jesus and Paul and we should study and compare sayings and facts not less, but the spirit and its source more is Kaftan's ples.

A phase of the revolt against the view that Paul was primarily a systematic thinker is represented by the clear and stimulative discussion of Olaf Moe, Paulus und die evangelische Geschichte ('12). He insists that previous investigations have too much stressed literary statistics, for Paul was not so much a writer as a missionary. He preached and taught before he wrote and that oral gospel we should seek to reconstruct. Since the outline of the gospels shows a didactic purpose, since they were written to preserve what had been used orally in the churches, and since there is so much contact between them and the presuppositions of the epistles and Apostolic preaching, he argues that such a reconstruction, as he lays down, will show that the relation between Paul and Jesus was close.

S.J.Case, Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples (American Journal of Theology, 11:269ff.) and other writings claims that Paul as a Jew was a traditionalist and never changed, that Jewish theology, however, never furnished him his thought of a crucified Messiah, and that he largely took over the faith of the primitive Christians. This article is chiefly significant for its argument that Damascus may have been a Christian center and that Paul did not need to go to Jerusalem for information. A similar view is held by Loofs,

What is the Truth about Jesus Christ? ('13), who especially stresses the fact that since Paul's experiences go back near Christ's death, he must have known the thought of the Jerusalem church about Christ and have taken it over during the first two or three years when belief would be most difficult. Paul's view of the death of Jesus he found and so far as we know it was never disputed.

The above resumé furnishes a survey of the more typical views to be found in this group and sketches briefly some of the more significant work that has been done. A comprehensive and valuable discussion of the problem is given by Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ* ('05), but little of significance is added. Among the many illuminating briefer treatments of the question, not previously cited, are C.A.A. Scott, *Jesus and Paul*, the *Cambridge Biblical Essays* ('09) and Maurice Jones, *The New Testament in the Twentieth Century* ('14; chs. 3 and 4). In England and America much interest has been taken in a phase of the problem, the "Jesus or Christ" question and here the problem generally is more youthful and has not had the exciting history it has enjoyed on the continent.

4. The present situation.

It must be said that none of the above groups has by its work swept the field with arguments that compel general acceptance and that any such are likely to appear, is not to be expected. Prejudice and prepossessions yield slowly to the best of argument and all the more so in a field where the available data are not sufficient for proof, but at most can claim to

indicate high probability only. In the extent of following, seemingly in freedom from prejudice, in balanced and open-minded consideration of all phases of the problem, and in general strength of argument the advantage lies clearly with the left wing and center of the third group, Kölbing, Johannes Weiss, Goguel, Feine, Jülicher, Kaftan, Case, Moe and others. The inconclusiveness of the present situation appears confusing at first, but closer study indicates that if the conclusion as to the relation of Paul to Jesus and to early Christian tradition is not determined, it is at least somewhat conditioned by the investigator's conception of what is fundamental in Christianity. Some find this in teaching or dogma and others in inner piety, experience or life, as it is often expressed. Of course these are not mutually exclusive terms. Conceivably but rarely does knowledge of the teaching of Jesus exist apart from some reaction on the inner life and while religious experience or piety may exist with a minimum of thought, it is never cut off entirely from it. By inner piety is not meant that narrower type, too frequently met, which Harnack, *Dogmen-Geschichte* (2te Aufl., III:66ff.), so justly and masterfully criticises. That the piety of Jesus and Paul possesses a tendency to the quietistic, to substitute feeling for action and all the rest is not to be denied, but it is just as much to be claimed that their conception of it may be so formulated "dass sie den Glauben zu dem stärksten Hebel sittlicher Kraft zu Gestalten vermag." (s.67) To them both the heart is the fountain of all real morality and as the product of a relationship with the Father, is to be tested by its fruits. Both the "left", the first

group, and some of the "right" in the third group regard dogma or teaching as the fundamental in Christianity. The latter, the conservatives, find Paul's thought or its essentials in the earthly Jesus, while the former, the liberals find no connection between them. But among those who hold that in estimating the relation of Jesus and the Apostle their inner piety or spirit is more important than their teaching, both liberals and conservatives agree there is a vital connection between them.

II. Introduction to the Following Investigation.

1. Incompleteness and inaccuracy of our knowledge of early Christian tradition.

A. Sources. What was the content of Christian tradition when Paul began his work as a herald of the cross and when he began to write his churches? How much of the gospel story may we safely presume was then in his possession? What sources have we for reaching an approximate answer to these questions? It will be possible here only to assume briefly the general results of critical scholarship for the bearing they have on the methods that must be followed in this investigation. To regard the synoptic gospels as sources of the first order for the oral tradition of Paul's earlier days is no longer possible without modification. Paul's first missionary tour began about 46 and his letters are regarded as falling within the years 48 and 63, so the possibility of Paul's use of the synoptics, which most critics regard as composed between 65 and 85 and not be considered. Thus in seeking an answer to the above

questions we can not use the synoptic gospels without distinction and if we will use them critically, we shall not only approach primitive Christian tradition more closely, but acquire as well a picture of Jesus more psychologically consistent and historically intelligible. The two source theory has reached general acceptance, even though the synoptic problem has not been altogether solved. What could be Paul's relation to Mark or Q, the Logia? Few care to place the composition of Mark earlier than 65, so Paul's only connection with it is a possible familiarity with the Petrine tradition that entered into it. Q or the Logia is placed by the majority of scholars between not long after 50 and 65, so while there is the possibility of acquaintance here, the probability is against its being so extensive. Rudolf Bultmann (Der Paulismus und die Logia Jesu.). Consequently for this problem those sections of the synoptic gospels which are in Mark or derived from that gospel and those which are likely derived from Q are regarded as superior in value to other sections.

The Pauline epistles presuppose the gospel material on every page and some think that if they are rightly understood, they offer an imposing amount of material on the life of Jesus. We must believe we are justified in arguing back from them "to the actual contents of the conceptions and teachings of Jesus which they presuppose" (Teaching of Jesus, I:29). Paul writes his epistles in every case to people who had previously received missionary preaching and teaching and one ignorant of the terms and ideas he uses, without any

explanation of them, could hardly regard his epistles as intelligible. His presuppositions, his use, explicit and implicit, of the gospel materials render his own writings, the oldest part of the New Testament, a primary source for the oral tradition of his day.

Then there are other writings valuable for information about the tradition of the primitive church. While "priority is not equivalent to superiority" (Moffatt, *The Historical New Testament*, p.62) the generally agreed later date of the Johannine writings, II Peter and Jude render them of less value relatively for this tradition. The evidence the epistle of James might offer is vitiated by the fact that while some think it quite early, other scholars regard it as very late. The same statement would apply equally to I Peter but for a growing tendency to date it earlier and to regard it as possibly genuine. Hebrews is thought by most to have been written after 80, but many who assign it a late date detect traces of early Christian tradition in it. Whatever the date of composition of Acts, the theology embedded in its speeches is generally admitted to be on the whole quite primitive. Our sources then for the construction of the oral tradition of Paul's day are first, the synoptic gospels, the Q and Marcan sections of it especially, Paul's own epistles, Acts, I Peter, and Hebrews.

B. The value of these sources. Among the principles which determine the value of tradition and its records are: (1) The nearness of the tradition, when first witnessed, to the events described. Has there been time for growth in the

narration of the events and if so, are there conditions that would tend to check or accelerate such development? (2) The nearness of the records of the tradition to the events narrated, evidences of lost intervening records, and the consequent opportunity for development. Are the records, if not near the events, based upon written sources that are, and if not, what is the likelihood of additions, growth, or loss? Has time corrected some earlier mistakes? Have they been affected by current needs or tendencies? (3) The motive and character of the writers and their opportunity to know. Is what is known about the character of the writer, if known at all, or what is reflected in his record such as to generate confidence in his work? Is he an eye-witness of the events he describes, a contemporary, or failing in those, what seems to have been his sources and their value? What is his aim? Does he write as an historian, a critic, a propagandist, or an apologist? Due to the large number of eye-witnesses and the believed impending Parousia, as well as to the limited field in which Christian activity was carried on, the interval between the events and the first written records was at least twenty years or a little more. Knowledge of the human memory and its limitations together with the current belief in the mysterious or miraculous and the religious beliefs fostered by this marvelous personality, beliefs that could dwell upon certain phrases of his life, create a strong presumption that twenty years was time enough for some growth as well as some loss in the tradition, although not time enough for the type of idealization or apotheosis found among some religions which has

taken place long after all real touch with the human personality has been lost, as in the case of Buddha for example. In the light of these principles the sources will be observed more closely.

Reference has been made to the written sources of the synoptic gospels and to the time of their writing. The oral or "peculiar" traditions that entered into Matthew and Luke had all the way from forty to fifty or more years in which to lose, develop or be added to and that such changes happened a close comparative study of Mark, Matthew and Luke will show. Not infrequently Matthew and Luke, when using the Marcan tradition will add, explain the ambiguous or introduce a thought plainly called forth by the needs and desires of the later time. An illustration of this may be found in the way they treat the "great confession" of Peter (Mk.8:27-30, Mt.16:13-20 and Lk.9:18-22). Traditions generally develop along the line of the needs and desires of those holding them and that probably happened to some extent in the case of early Christian tradition. Professor George F. Moore in a lecture on the formation of tradition cites, as an illustration of this, H. Murdock's Historic Doubts on the Battle of Lexington (Massachusetts Historical Society, May '16). The Doolittle engraving of 1775, in harmony with the first story given, represents it as a massacre by the British troops who are firing on the dispersing and non-resisting Americans. Pendleton's lithograph, about 1830, represents all dispersing save six or eight who are returning the fire. That number grows to a dozen or more in the Billings sketch, ca. 1860, and the

Sandham painting of 1386 stages a real battle with the solid line "emptying their firelocks" at the Redcoats. Each stage of development in the tradition was in harmony with the story desired at the time. That tendency may explain the treatment of Peter's confession. To Mark's "Thou art the Christ" Matthew adds "the son of the living God", while Luke adds only the words, "of God". It may explain the fact that neither Luke nor John among their last words of Jesus cite the only one given by Mark (15:34), "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?", so difficult later for the church to explain; that Matthew heightens the miraculous, "great tempest" and "great calm" (8:24&26) and "immediately the fig tree withered away" (21:19; Mk.11:20, "the next day"); and many other similar problems, but the general value of the history is assured us by the contradictions again and again of those tendencies. Among them are: the baptism of Jesus by John, and such words as, "There is none good save the Father" (Mk.10:18) and "of that day or that hour knoweth no one" (Mk.13:32).

As one place of this development or change some think the gospels have been much influenced by Paul, though these now assert that much less confidently than formerly. There is doubtless evidence of it in Luke, but Brückner among others holds Mark is such influenced by him. 8:34ff., concerning crossbearing and losing one's life and the "ransom" passage in 10:45 are among those thought to be the product of Pauline influence. Wernle thinks Mark's Christology contradicts Paul's everywhere. At any rate to eliminate the Pauline in the gospels is to beg the question, for it assumes there

could be no agreement between them. If Paul is responsible for Mk. 10:45, why did he not revise Mk. 7:27, "Let the children first be filled; for it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs"? The only verse in Mark on work among the Gentiles is hostile to Paul's point of view. Paul's influence on Mark, at least, appears entirely negligible.

The selection of the materials and their arrangement indicate a purpose other than the telling of the course of events. Less attention is given to chronology than to topical order. Luke attempts to be more historical, but is not more successful, largely due probably to the fact that his success did not permit it. Disregarding connections wholly, Matthew collects, groups and occasionally employs a summary verse (7:28f., 11:1, 19:1f.). Topics were more to Mark than sequence. All omit, largely, the history of the youth of Jesus, all begin with the Baptist and so with reference to the Old Testament, and all close not with the death but the resurrection of Jesus. With all their disagreements there is general agreement on the sending out of the apostles, on many of his miracles and teachings, the growing opposition of Jewish leaders, the Christological confession and other turning points, the necessity of suffering, the Lord's Supper, betrayal, trial, and crucifixion--in other words the outline that lies at the basis of the missionary preaching and teaching of Acts. "At that time" is about as definite as most chronological references become. The choice of narratives is ruled by the thesis, "Jesus is the Messiah", and the desire to solve historically the problem of his death. Both the

selection and the arrangement of the materials rather conclusively indicate that the purpose of the writings was not historical primarily, but practical, evangelistic and didactic.

If as the above suggests, it can be shown that the structure of the gospels indicates an outline similar to that of the missionary preaching, it becomes highly probable in view of the presuppositions of Paul's epistles that their readers have received the gist at least of the synoptic materials. The bearing of the above discussion of their character upon this theme is that it clearly shows that while the synoptics may approximately, they doubtless do not accurately reflect the tradition of the days of Paul's activity. Of the gist, the outline, the impression and the spirit of these records there is every reason for certainty, but this certainty does not extend, for the most part, to the words in which this tradition has reached us.

The Lucan authorship of the book of Acts is generally admitted and that, if true, speaks highly for its value in estimating the relation of Paul to the primitive church and to Jesus. It is exceedingly difficult to date, but most scholars locate it between 80 and 95. It is consequently not much, if any, nearer the events it describes than are the synoptic gospels and its late date would work against its value, were it not for its use of written sources. Torrey in his recent monograph on Acts holds chapters 1 to 15 to be based probably upon Aramaic documents. Harnack thinks he used in 1-5 two documents from Jerusalem and in 6-15 one from Antioch and another from Caesarea or Jerusalem. All of which is to say that

Luke had access to a number of papers or pamphlets from which he drew to fit into his editorial scheme. Then he uses that seems to be a diary, a we-journal, of a companion of Paul and if the contents of *Acts* 16:11-17:15, then, that the style of the we-sections is essentially one with the rest of the book, the journal is likely his own. The book is a history of the progress of the Christian religion from Jerusalem to Rome written from the standpoint of an apologist who would win the friendship of Roman officials and at once demonstrate Christianity's independence from Judaism.

The historical value of *Acts* is high in spite of some limitations. Incidents pictured and conditions reflected have been largely confirmed by later knowledge of the ancient world. Such accuracy is not always present, as for example in his accounts of Paul's conversion. Of more importance here is the question of the authenticity of the Pauline speeches. Percy Gardner treats them fully and excellently in the *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (p. 301ff.) and concludes that his speech at Athens is a free composition by Luke with little of the Pauline in it, that his speech at Miletus to the Ephesian elders, the only one at which the author claims to have been present and the one which contains by far the most parallels with his epistles, has been composed by Luke from a very definite recollection of what was said, and that the rest were written up either carelessly from his knowledge of or perhaps carefully in reasoning from his knowledge of Paul what he would likely say under the circumstances. That the speeches of Peter contain primitive Christology is generally

granted, but both Peter and Paul have probably been somewhat localized. Consequently the materials of Acts can not be taken too much in detail as accurate for the early church, but with allowance for variations, may be regarded as in general trustworthy for an impression of its life and thought.

Among those who believe in the genuineness of I Peter are Bacon, Moffatt, Peake, Plumptre, Hort, B. Weiss, and Zahn, and Harnack who earlier argued for its pseudonymity is now more willing to admit it may be the work of Peter the Apostle. If this be true, not only the early date necessitated, but the fact that it is the work of an eyewitness, who was a leader of the primitive church, makes this epistle one of high value for reaching some idea of the thought and life of early Christianity. The epistle to the Hebrews is exceedingly difficult to date and Origen's statement that God only knows who wrote it—and it has been added that He won't tell—makes it impossible to ascribe any special value to it on the ground of either date or authorship, but some value it may have because of the readiness of many scholars to grant that there is at least a strand of very early theology in this epistle. Because of their character and date whatever other writings of the New Testament might add to or detract from the evidence of the synoptics, Paul's epistles, Acts, I Peter, and Hebrews, will neither considerably strengthen nor weaken the conclusions reached and so they may safely be left out of consideration here.

The general view that Paul's epistles were written between 48 and 63 makes them the oldest writings of the New

Testament and so place them nearer the events of early Christian tradition than any other writings we have. From that it does not necessarily follow that what tradition is distinguishable in the epistles is superior to that of the gospels, but does raise the question as to the extent of the similarity between the tradition with which Paul was familiar ca. 45 to 50 and that which took form in the gospels a quarter of a century later. Their priority does not argue their influence upon the writings that follow. It hardly seems possible that the little, some have found in Mark and Matthew, could be true and not more be found, but it does furnish ground for the possibility of such influence on the third and fourth gospels. Nor do these writings indicate by their order any development in thought. That might have been claimed had the order of the writings been the synoptics, Pauline epistles, Johannine writings. There would have seemed to be a development from the historical Jesus to the deified Christ, but that is not the order. It was those who read or were familiar with the Pauline epistles and worshipped their Christ who put together and accepted the synoptics. These gospels appeared midway between the Pauline and Johannine pictures of Christ. Then as Moffatt patently observes, there must have been between 50 and 60 A.D. other writings besides the Pauline, for the gospels do not seem to be pioneer efforts. (The Historical New Testament, p.63)

Nor is the story all told by Q and the "Ur-Mark". To some of these earlier gospels and writings Luke definitely refers (1:1), but further than that they are unknown. This allows at least for the possibility of Resch's thought that a series of other-

wise unrecorded sayings of Jesus, among them I Cor.2:10f., are to be found in Paul's writings and that he secured them from a pre-canonical gospel. In any case the church already had a tradition when Paul entered it and it was perpetuated by some who were independent of him.

For the purpose of this investigation it is enough to see that the synoptic gospels, composed from about 35 to 45 years after the time of the events described, trustworthy as they are for the outline, spirit and impressions conveyed, can not be pressed for the verbal details of a tradition held half way between the events and the writing.. Some evidence for this distinction exists, but may be easily accorded more importance than is its due. This is evidently done by Bacon in his article on "The Gospel Paul 'Received'" (American Journal of Theology, Jan.'17). He concludes that the synoptic tradition reflects in its Palestinian origin an influence that was reactionary so far as legalistic and mystical conceptions of religion are concerned. "The Pauline resurrection story differs in every particular from the synoptic"(p.18), but neither that statement nor such a one as for instance that Paul never preached repentance bear very close scrutiny. How great is the difference between μετάνοια and Paul's καταλλαγή in II Cor. 5:18, frequently used by him? Later study will show how uncertain are these "tremendous differences". Bacon argues from Hegesippus and Papias that the second century was an "age of reaction even in the Pauline churches toward the tradition of Jerusalem"(p.19). That they in fighting anti-nomism Marcionism made no use of Paul seems true, but he nowhere raises the question whether

that was due to the understanding or misunderstanding of the relation between Paul and the Jerusalem tradition. There are obstructing facts in the way of such a divorce between them. There is no evidence that Paul knew any other stream of tradition any better, he secured the approval of his gospel by the church at Jerusalem, he built at Antioch and Rome on the foundation of others, and witnessed in II Cor. 3,4 and 5 the common God-given message, the presupposition of every controversy he ever had. The force of this explicit testimony of Paul's to a common gospel Bacon not only admits, but believes its tradition superior to and more representative than that of the synoptic record with its omission of much so central in the mind of Paul. Differences he magnifies, but they are evidence that the tradition Paul knew was not identical with that which later took written form in the synoptics.

Where there is striking similarity between their phraseology, a presumption for genuineness would be established. Where there is agreement in spirit or impression, it would seem to follow in case of verbal deviation that Paul might be as near the original words of Jesus as the evangelist. However there is only the possibility that that is the case and the different purpose of the epistle and the conditions under which it was written would likely lessen the possibility. This tradition is not only reflected, but directly again and again by Paul. He often refers to the *παράδοσις* which is usually of a moral and disciplinary nature, (II Thess. 2:15, 3:6, ICor.11:2 and Phil.4:9) without referring to the authority of Christ, though it is clearly in the background. "Ye know" or "do

ye not know"(Gal.2:16, I Cor.3:16,6:2,9, 9:13,II Cor.5:1,6 and Ephes.6:3 and 9), indicate he bases his thought on sayings of Jesus or at least a tradition to which he can refer. What does "I received of the Lord" (I Cor.11:23) mean? Heinrichi, (Das erste Sendschreiben an die Korinther, ad loc.), points out that if he had referred to an unmediated reception he would have used παρά, but he uses ἀπό, so means that his knowledge has been mediated by man, though he has the authority of the Lord for it. Likewise there is nothing in Gal.1:12, which will be discussed later, to contradict the interpretation that he received his facts through men. It is his insight into, his understanding of them that he asserts is from Jesus Christ directly. Paul never claimed for his visions a disclosure of historical facts, which doubtless reached him in ordinary ways, since he is so much in agreement with the early church on them. What he says about Jesus presupposes that he knows more and he assumes, a careful study of his epistles will reveal, more knowledge on the part of his readers than the missionary preaching, as reported by Luke, gives. These assumptions as to what his readers know and his own knowledge, as given in the epistles, furnish an excellent basis for the construction of the tradition of the time.

C. Whence came Paul's knowledge of this tradition? Who among his acquaintances were able to relate to him the words and deeds of Jesus?

1. Peter and James, the Lord's brother, Gal.1:13f. Would the fact that he only saw these two prove that his facts had reached him by supernatural means or that he was absolutely

independent from them for these facts? Fifteen days would be quite sufficient for him to receive the great facts of gospel history to the extent he did not already possess them and it is inconceivable that these three should spend that time together and not discuss these themes so important to them. To say that he saw these two only would be proof however that he had not been ordained by them, for by Acts 8:6 two could not do that. Paul's assertion of independent authority here is based on the fact that his commission is not from men, but from God and that, as just noted, not his facts, but his "peculiar" insight into and interpretation of them came not from men, but by revelation from Jesus Christ. He meditated upon the spirit, the mind of Jesus and I Cor.2:16, "But we have the mind of Christ", supports this view by indicating that he believed his mental processes were inspired by his inner relationship with Jesus Christ. He is not compromised by having received some of his facts from the "pillars" at Jerusalem, if his commission and his distinctive gospel come from the same source as has that of the twelve. Peter could have contributed still more at the time of his visit to Antioch, Gal.2:11ff.

2. Mark would be able to give Paul personal knowledge of Jesus' life at least, if it is true that in Mark 14:51 he has left his "monogram" almost concealed, and if it was in his home in Jerusalem (Acts 12:12) where Jesus and the twelve had some of their gatherings. An imagination, furnished with any knowledge of Paul and Mark can not picture them aboard ship either to or from Cyprus, or during their work and travel about the island (Acts 12:25 - 13:13) apart from extended

conversations about the life and teaching of Jesus.

3. There were a number of sources from which Paul could have drawn authentic information, even though it may not have been of the eyewitness species. It was not in the spirit of Paul to oppose so bitterly a sect about which he did not know the facts. These he may have gained during his student days in Jerusalem. Far more plausible than that he did not, it is to think he knew the story of Jesus and saw, as the first Christians did not, what it meant for Judaism.

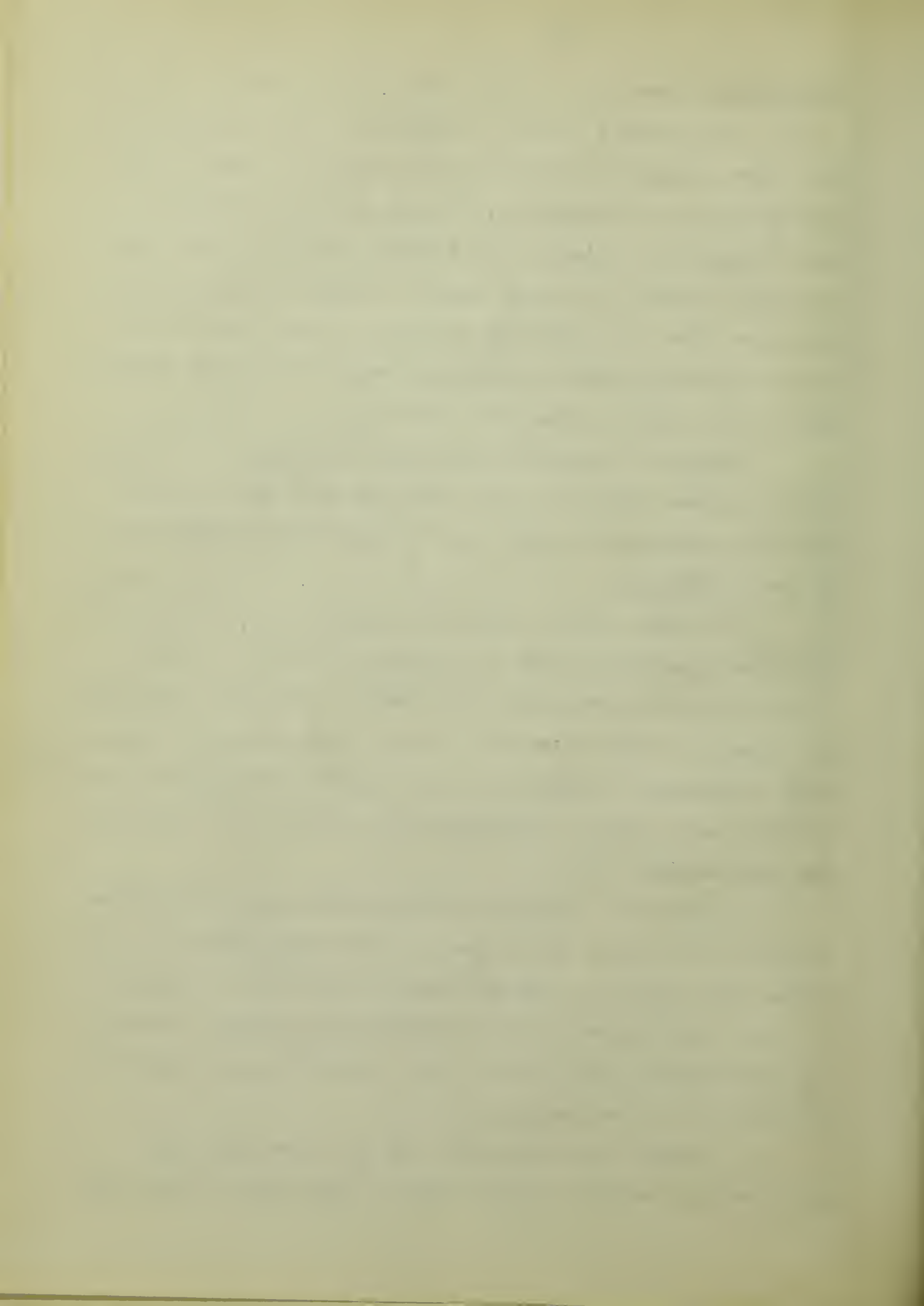
4. During his persecution of the Christians he had opportunity to learn still more about the new faith and was probably much influenced by their conduct and spirit, especially by that of Stephen.

5. S.J. Case, Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples (American Journal of Theology, 11:269 ff.), calls attention to the possibility that Damascus was quite a Christian center, so that he may have learned enough from the Christians he expected to persecute there together with what he previously knew to make it unnecessary for him to go to Jerusalem for information.

6. His life in the Syrian and Cilician regions is undescribed, but he says, Gal. 1:22-24, that he was approved by the Judean churches, so he was not isolated from their influence.

7. His association with Barnabas, an important leader of the early church, Acts. 4:36 f., 9:27, and 11:22, who could give him much of the very early tradition.

8. Junias, his kinsman, who was "of note among the apostles" and was "in Christ" before he had become a Christian.



Rom.16:7.

9. The only reason, it would seem, for referring to Simon the Cyrene as "the father of Alexander and Rufus"(12.15:21) is that the latter were later prominent in the church. If that be true and that Mark addressed to Rome, it is plausible that we meet the same Rufus in Rom.16:13, and since his mother had mothered Paul, there was ample opportunity for familiarity with what he may have known about the early tradition.

These facts establish the possibility that Paul quite fully possessed the *apódoxis* of the early church.

D. Summary. The sources for our knowledge of early Christian tradition are first of all the synoptic gospels, especially their Mark and Q elements, and Paul's epistles, and second, of considerable value are Acts, I Peter, and the epistle to the Hebrews. The records, nearest in time of writing to the events described in the tradition, furnish little directly because of their epistolary purpose, but their presuppositions of their tradition imply a knowledge of it quite beyond that of the missionary preaching of Acts. The relation of these presuppositions to the general outline of the gospel records confirms the idea that arises out of a study of the synoptics themselves, namely that this gospel tradition is not the product of a recollection of Jesus' words and deeds, which is either accidental or guided by historical purpose, but is the product of collecting and editing from the viewpoint of an evangelistic and didactic aim. It is apparent that this aim implies that the gospels were written to preserve for the churches what had been earlier given them in sermon and in teach-

ing. The possibility of Paul's knowledge of this tradition has been established. While there is some evidence that the synoptic tradition developed and changed in accord with the needs and desires of the time, and so that the tradition that Paul came to know may not have been entirely the same as that of the synoptics, his relation to the church at Jerusalem, to churches founded by others, and his assertion of a common God-given message witnessed by all assure us at once of the close relationship and general trustworthy character of the two traditions. The verbal mark of relationship cannot be insisted upon. More significant will be that of the impression and the spirit.

2. The problem and its method of treatment.

Wrede asserted that Paul knew little or nothing about the life and teaching of Jesus and that to believe the former understood the latter is to believe an error. He with others who have this viewpoint sees great contrasts between the teaching of Jesus in the synoptics and that of Paul, and concludes that Paul, though not in reality a follower of Jesus, is the actual founder of Christianity. Is Paul an innovator, an intruder? Has he substituted for the teaching of Jesus a complex of Pharisaism and fanciful speculation for the foundation of the Christian church? It has been stated that he had historical points of contact with those who could inform him concerning the content of early Christian tradition and that closer study of his epistles reflect more knowledge about the historical Jesus and his teaching than the casual reader would

observe. What is the evidence that Paul did know about the earthly life and work of his Lord and understood him, if such really exists? What is the relation of Jesus and his work to the teaching of Paul about him? Is the difference as great as some have seen it and are there grounds for such differences as do exist? What is the probability that Paul's failure to refer to some things in the life and teaching of Jesus may be due to ignorance of them? To what extent, if any, has Paul altered primitive tradition about Jesus or is he in general agreement with it?

A. Suppose Paul did not know about the life and work of Jesus? What are the implications of a denial of such knowledge? To make out a case that Paul knew little about Jesus and cared even less about his earthly life, it is asserted that such knowledge is really not found in the epistles and that he never quotes him, his disclaimer of human instruction (Gal. 1:12 ff.) is magnified and he is made to stand everywhere more as the philosopher or systematic theologian than as a practical missionary. On the other hand an attempt is made to account for his belief among other ways by what is known as the psychological interpretation or vision theory, or by what is known as the Christ theory. Of these there are various shades and they are often inter-related, but they agree in placing in Paul previously all the elements of the new life. The first regards him as a man subject to visions, who had experienced the impotence of the law and had observed the potency of Jesus, and so reached his new thought by the aid of Jewish theology and apocalyptic intuitively-he thought by revelation. Holders of the Christ theory contend that Paul was familiar with the most of

his features through the Jewish Messiah to which he added, in order to get a heavenly man, Enoch's Son of man to whom pre-existence had been ascribed. To these ideas he added that of the Suffering Servant of Jahve, so his Christ was quite a composite. These views darken rather than illuminate, create rather than solve problems. The evidence to be presented will show the falsity of their presuppositions, Paul's knowledge of and interest in the historical Jesus, his thought of revelation, his use of human mediation, and his temper and dominant interest.

Briefly what are the implications of this position - some of the problems created and others not solved? One of the chief things involved is the thought that the fundamental in Christianity is thought rather than life, in that it regards Paul's theology the product of speculation rather than of experience. If teaching is the essential in the Christian faith, why is it that Jesus made no real attempt to preserve his? Why did he as a basis for judging entrance into the kingdom stress the deeds and above all the inner spirit of the life (Mt.5-7, 25:31 ff., and Mk.9:35)? How does it happen that Paul's greatest emphasis was identical, that far more important than teaching or theology was love (I Cor. 13)? If Paul previously had within his mind and spirit all the elements from which he constructed his later Christian theology, it would follow that between this speculative construction and the soil on which it grew there should be a close relation. However here the plant is everything but indigenous to its soil. Paul the Pharisee by rabbinic methods has attained a central

idea, without parallel in the Old Testament, which virtually cancels much of Jewish belief. There was in Jewish thought no idea of a personality who could be both Messiah and Son of God. Even if such an idea could be composed from many others, a highly doubtful procedure, there would be need of explaining the nature of the force that could attract and incorporate into itself all these current ideas. Hardly anything short of the personality of the earthly Jesus could account for such a process. Without the historical it is fair to ask if the ideal presented could ever have been. Granted the "mind" and person of Jesus and it is possible to derive Apostolic thought. The denial of historical relationship between Jesus and Paul assumes that the reverse can be done. But this thought of Jesus was not the possession of Paul alone. The early apostles, some of whom differed from Paul on other subjects, held a view of Jesus in essential agreement with that of Paul. From what we know about their literary gifts and intellectual ability, does it seem plausible that they could create a composite out of existing beliefs which would appear at once so natural, consistent and so unified in consciousness? Does it seem reasonable that, if this picture were so made up apart from historical materials, the account would be so simple, artless, so free from self-evident exaggerations and so unlike what popular thought expected in the Messiah? Paul in his thought of the Messiah departed from the Jewish conception. Why did he and how did he come to the same idea essentially that Jesus had? To remove historical connection is to lose the only corrective Paul had for his earlier view.

Such a denial of historical relationship generates a series of practical absurdities, not the least of which is the psychological situation it would require for Paul. Before he became a Christian, he was a traditionalist, "more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal.1:14) than most of his countrymen of his age. There is nothing known to us to really discount that description of his spirit either before or after his conversion. He urges his churches to "hold fast the traditions" (1 Cor.11:2, II Thess.2:15) and to heed past customs (I Cor.11:16). It would be impossible for one whose psychological bent inclined him to a high regard for the past and its authority to be indifferent to the tradition about Jesus. Is it conceivable that Paul could have persecuted the Christians so vigorously apart from prejudice based upon a knowledge of the facts? How unnatural would have been his contact with Christians before and after his conversion, among them Peter and James, his close relations to the mother church at Jerusalem, and his consciousness of unity with the early church, which was supported by the apostles of the early church towered him, without considerable interest in the earthly Jesus! To imagine fifteen days spent with Peter and James without extended conversation about the life and teaching of Jesus is a reductio ad absurdum. It is more likely that to make room for such long talks sleeping hours were now and again shortened. Reference has been made to such opportunities with John Mark and others (p.33). Nor does interest in a theological, a Messianic figure meet the requirements here. Can one imagine a reference to the crucifixion of Jesus not

arousing an interest in the life-story that preceded it? No less could a mind like his rest with an account of one miracle or parable and not seek for still more. If he had been disposed at all to indifference to the historical in Jesus' life, the queries and the skepticism he met in his missionary work would have driven it from him. His own position was not secure enough with his hearers that he could dare to refer all such questions and problems to others. Just as unnatural it would be to combine with such knowledge of the life of Jesus an indifference to what he taught. Such an attitude raises more problems than it solves. The conviction, the courageous frankness and the sense of certainty that possesses Paul in his controversy at the Jerusalem Council and with the Judaizers of Galatia belie the assertion that Paul, either in knowledge of early Christian tradition or in the support it gives him, is at any disadvantage with his opponents. With the idea that Paul knew little of and cared less about this tradition, the psychological demands of Paul's life-story, work and thought are in open hostility.

A chain of further facts and events are left unexplained by such a denial. Paul and the first disciples preached the same gospel (I Cor. 15:11) and to say that Paul saw only the "Christ", as Wrede and others, is to destroy the meaning of his relations with the other disciples as well as of his references to Jesus. The conflict between Paul and the other apostles was possible only on the ground of a common knowledge. While on the Christian's relation to the law Paul neither in the Jerusalem council, so far as we know, nor in the epistle

to the Galatians appealed to the authority of Jesus, He seems to have been conscious that it could not be used against him, nor was it apparently. Then, as just indicated, Paul was a suspected person in the view of the primitive apostles and the Jewish Christians and so could not afford to open himself to the charge of ignorance of or indifference to the teaching of Jesus. What better charges to bring against him! Had that truly characterized him, could he have secured the approval of the first apostles (Gal.2:9)? The bitterness of some other controversies in the Apostolic Age show what might have been, had Paul diverged greatly from the generally accepted view. Further those who so separate Jesus and Paul find it convenient to overlook the fact that it was people who worshipped the Christ of the epistles who edited and accepted the gospels. Lastly, this view requires a strange blindness to the requirements of practical missionary work. Questions he would meet everywhere about the death of Jesus and his burial, proofs of his sinlessness, that he is the Christ and that prophecy and fulfillment really agree. Gentiles would not accept, at that time especially, the religion of a Jew without the facts and if we had no real evidence, we could know that this practical work would not permit even indifference to the truth about Jesus' life.

One considerable problem involved in ascribing ignorance of or indifference to the facts of the life of the historical Jesus is the extent to which the Christian faith is dependent upon historical facts. Did it thrive for a time without them?—an important question not only for Protestants, but for the life

of true Christianity. To answer it affirmatively with reference to Paul and his churches can not be satisfying. If it is true that Paul's theology is merely an abstract system which he reached by speculation, it is little or nothing more than a philosophy and would be short not only of its reality, but like all the merely theoretical, of its warmth and power. It might set the ideal, but would lack the kinetic and dynamic forces that help to impel and achieve. Sabatier says that his theology in such a case would now exist only in the history of philosophy, "that herbarium of dessicated ideas". (The Apostle Paul, '06, p. 72) Such a separation from history it may be certain Paul never entered into. Nothing is clearer than his consciousness of adherence to the gospel and spirit of Jesus. Was he deluded? There is no evidence that the distinction between the earthly Jesus and the exalted Christ ever occurred to him. Schmoller asserts "Der erhöhte Christus ist ihm nicht eine ganz neue, selbständige Person, sondern eine mit dem irdisch-geschichtlichen Jesus identisch." (Studien und Kritiken, '94, s. 667) So Deissmann concludes. (Theologische Literaturzeitung, '15, s. 522) It is a modern problem and so an anachronism when introduced into Paul's thinking. Lastly, this denial of a vital relation between Jesus and Paul results in a playing off of the undogmatic gospels against the dogmatic epistles, a rather popular exercise in certain circles at present. However the great facts of both came out of the same quarry and the evidence that follows will show not only agreements in phraseology occasionally little short of striking, but, what is much more significant, complete similarities in spirit and prin-

ciple between them. A vital historical connection between Paul and Jesus stands out as more illuminating and adequate for the facts and so much more probable than the divorce some would decree between them.

B. Factors that help determine the general method to be followed.

1. Our indefinite knowledge of early Christian tradition which has been fully discussed (p. 22 ff.).

2. Jesus and Paul were both Jews and in common inherited the teaching of the Old Testament. That element both in them and in the holders of the early tradition cannot disprove dependence upon Jesus, but weakens its force and allowance must be made for it. Ström, *Der Apostel Paulus und die evangelische Überlieferung*, has not sufficiently allowed for it in his discussion of the eschatology of Paul and Jesus nor in that of the love of neighbor as the quintessence of the law (Mk. 12:31, Gal. 5:14, Rom. 13:10 and Lev. 19:18). Wrede's contention that this common Jewish inheritance explains all the similarity there is between Paul and Jesus has its basis in a belief that there is relatively little such similarity to account for, and that is grounded, as previously noted, in a viewpoint both inadequate and exaggerated.

3. Jesus and Paul were so nearly contemporaries that some of their agreements might be due to contemporary thought, to a community of thought and language because of current use, or to what might be termed the "Zeitgeist". This would not establish dependence or lack of it, but has value for estimating their similarity in spirit and interests. Verbal correspondences

might be accidental, but those of mental attitude and religious conception are deeper, less subject to chance, and so vastly more significant.

4. Paul's apparent use of sources, if his use of the Old Testament is a criterion. If he always followed the Septuagint, it was a different version from any we know. Thackeray thinks it often similar to the version by Theodotion. (The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p. 180 f.) The Lxx text of Job differs widely from that used in Rom.11:35 and I Cor. 3:19. In II Cor.6:16 several Old Testament passages are combined. I Cor.2:9 only remotely resembles any Old Testament passage. Some think it may be apocryphal, from an Aramaic document. The awkward construction favors the theory of a quotation found at hand rather than a free wording from a confused memory. In I Cor.15:55 and Ephes.5:14 some think a lost writing is quoted. F. H. Woods (Article on Quotations in H.D.B. vol.IV:137) notes that out of 31 quotations in Romans, taken from the Pentateuch and Psalms only 9 are not practically exact and that out of 22 taken from historical and prophetic books only 3 are exact. Not only his accuracy, but his exegesis may be called in question. In passages other than those he interprets Messianically, he shows little care as to the sense of the original context. Deut.30:12-14, said of the law, he applies in Rom.10:6 ff. to the gospel. Among many illustrations of this is I Cor. 9:9 and 10 where he overlooks or holds unimportant the obvious historical sense. If when he quotes a text he has been taught to reverence as Scripture, he is not always careful to quote accurately and is willing to adapt to suit his purpose,

how much more freely could he be expected to use the gospel tradition which he rarely professes to quote, a tradition as yet largely fluid in its transmission! His materials he never used in a slavish manner, but forms them in his own mold.

5. Religious life is never a copy merely of something that precedes, still less so in the case of a personality like that of Paul, so he should and could not entirely echo the thought and spirit of another. An eye should be kept for refractions as well as for reflections of the life and thought of Jesus, so that differences are not significant here unless they mean a break or a departure from the thought or life-spirit of Jesus. Differences that come within the laws of continuity and development are to be expected. The "Religionsgeschichtliche" school for all its good work has made rather too much of analogy and points of contact. Too much attention has been given to the source of the materials and not enough to the source of the spirit. More decisive than verbal agreements is any evidence that points to reflection by the great independent mind and spirit of Paul upon the "mind" of his Lord.

C. General method to be used. 1. In investigating the evidence for a vital relation between Jesus and Paul use will be made of similar materials in the Pauline epistles and notably the Logia, as constructed by Harnack (The Sayings of Jesus), and the Marcan elements of the synoptics. Special attention will be called to Paul's direct allusions to the historical data of Jesus' life, to quotations from the words of Jesus, clearcut agreements with his teaching in spirit, thought, and in phraseology where key or leading words indicate possible dependence

or a close connection of some sort. Discussions will usually follow passages or materials compared. This study will be limited to ten of Paul's epistles and will not consider the Pastorals, since their authenticity is much debated and since, however that may be regarded, the data they offer could not be such as to either materially strengthen or weaken the evidence given us in the other epistles. The text of the American Standard Version will be used, save in passages where the Greek text seems to be necessary.

2. Allowance must be made for trivial similarities, since our knowledge of early Christian tradition is uncertain, since the connection may be simply a common Jewish source, and since similar forms of expression and thought, due to "current coin" in religious phraseology, do not assure real connection.

Alfred Resch, *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu*, has failed to make such allowances and has, as a result, seen allusions to the life and sayings of Jesus too readily everywhere in Paul's pages. Probable Old Testament references in both Paul and Jesus will be omitted here unless significant for some other reason, not because they are valueless, but because their value is sufficiently slight that they can neither add nor detract very much. Similarities between unimportant words or phrases do not necessarily have even much cumulative value, so these will be omitted.

3. Emphasis will be placed more on similarities in thought or spirit, on indications of the "mind" of Jesus in Paul than on verbal correspondences and an attempt will be made to classify compared materials with reference to probability of real de-

pendence.

4. The evidence indicating the close relation of Paul to synoptic tradition will be compared with similar materials as they are found in Acts, I Peter and the epistle to the Hebrews. If the author of the first was the writer of the third gospel, if the author of the second was Peter, an eye-witness, and if the comparison shows agreement to any considerable extent, it will not only support the evidence of Paul's close relation to early Christian tradition, but will answer the charge that Paul altered primitive Christianity, as well as point to this early Christian tradition as the ground of the unity of the New Testament.

5. Divergences between Jesus, Paul and the primitive church will not be overlooked, but little attention will be given them, since, in view of the fact that the possibility of Paul's dependence upon Jesus has been established, their existence can not hold against its probability, if there be other evidence sufficient to substantiate it. Some considerations to account for these variations and for the absence of even more synoptic material in Paul's work will be suggested.

III. Investigation of the Relation of Paul to Jesus.

1. The life of Jesus as reflected by Paul.

Did Paul know anything about the life of Jesus? Are such references as he makes to it unhistorical or only that he could derive from Jewish thought of the Messiah? The answers are discordant. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israel* ('93, p.416), "On pourrait faire une petite vie de Jesus avec les épîtres aux Romains, aux Corinthiens, aux Galates, et avec l'épître aux Hébreux, qui n'est pas de saint Paul, mais est bien ancienne." On the other hand Brückner, *Zum Thema Jesus und Paulus* (*Zeitschrift für das neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, '06), holds that the reader of Paul would not get the faintest suggestion of the earthly life of Jesus, if he did not add to his writings certain ideas from the gospels. Paul's grounding of the sonship of Jesus on David (Rom.1:4), the death and resurrection (I Cor.15) and other items of his faith on scripture and his ascription of the Lord's Supper (I Cor.11:23) and other words (I Th.4:15) to inner revelation showed that for Paul there was no purely historical view. "Es spielt alles in der himmlischen und irdischen Welt zugleich." (s.115) Who is right? Which view is the plausible one? Could a thinking pagan or even a cultured Hellenized Jew, entirely innocent of knowledge of the gospel tradition, possibly understand Paul? His epistles contain presuppositions in every chapter not solved by current Jewish Messianic thought. They imply clearly a knowledge of this tradition about Jesus on the part of the first readers and necessarily of the writer.

A. The events of Jesus' life to which references are clearly made. The evidence is about as follows:

Rom.1:3, Jesus was "born of the seed of David according to the flesh". That the Davidic descent of Jesus was preached by the primitive church quite generally is shown not only by Paul, but by the genealogies of Luke and Matthew. Paul's reference to it might be accounted for by familiarity with Jewish prophecy about the promised Messiah, but as persecutor of the Christians, the Davidic descent of the Nazarene is one point he would have been instructed to discredit, if it were possible. No objection to it seems to have been known to him and if he followed the traditional line through Joseph, as given in Matthew and Luke, it follows that the story of the supernatural birth has not yet taken form, or is unknown to Paul, or is silently rejected by him. This bears slightly on Gal.4:4, "born of a woman, born under the law". The attempt of some to find here a reference to the virgin birth is now generally denied. "Born under the law" implies the environment Jesus entered, in conformity with which he was circumcised and subject to its statutes generally. Luke 2:27, "And the parents brought in the child Jesus that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law."

I Cor.9:5, "the brethren of the Lord", and Gal.1:19, "save James the Lord's brother" reflects Paul's familiarity with the information of Mark 6:3, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James, and Joses, and Judas and Simon?" From this it follows that Paul thought of Jesus as a man. I Cor. 15:21, "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead". So Rom.5:15, "the one man, Jesus Christ" and Phil.2:7, "made in the likeness of men".

I Cor.15:5, "then to the twelve", inaccurate as a number,

but the traditional title and its meaning was known to Paul. In Gal.1:18 and 2:9 he assumes something of his own familiarity with Peter and John on the part of his readers. Peter's place of leadership among the apostles Paul knows, Gal.2:7, I Cor.9:5 and 13:5.

Drescher, *Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus* (s.26) and H.J.Holtzmann, *Zum Thema Jesus und Paulus* (Protestantische Monatshefte, '00, 463 ff.), agree that Paul associates with the character of Jesus those virtues which are of the highest order in the synoptic account. Paul's great hymn of love (I Cor.13) must have had Jesus as its inspiration, as he is its only illustration. He was meek and gentle (II Cor.10:1), not prominent characteristics of the Jewish Messianic ideal. He pleased not himself but others (Rom.15:3) and this passage Holtzmann finds the "bezeichnendste für einen ganz frischen und lebensmässige Eindruck, den Paulus von Jesu geistiger Physiognomie gewonnen hatte." (ibid, s.464) He was sinless (II Cor.5:21, Rom.1:4, 5:18, 8:3 and Phil.2:8), but it was the sinlessness that results from constant effort. This idea Knowling says is not found at all in post-Christian Jewish theology (*The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, p.271).

I Cor.11:1, "Be ye imitators of me even as I also am of Christ". Just preceding this verse in 10:24-33 Paul had been urging unselfishness and self-renunciation. What more natural on that theme to one who knew his life than an appeal to the example of Jesus! *μαθηταί* meant to the Greeks not only a pupil who followed his teacher's instruction and mode of life, but also one who followed the gods and sought to become like them.

Could that be done in this case without a clear idea of the earthly life of Jesus. This verse and I Th. 1:6 are excellent evidence that Paul not only had a definite and distinct picture of Jesus, but that he had given it to his churches. "Le Christ terrestre lui sert de modele". (Goguel, L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ, p.250)

Some have thought that Paul's references to the historical Jesus from his birth to the institution of the Eucharist are relatively blank. The above must indicate the possibility of another conclusion to one who is not prejudiced. His allusions to the events of Passion week are very precise and concrete. II Cor. 1:5, "the sufferings of Christ" find an echo on almost every page (Rom. 15:3, Phil. 3:10 and Col. 1:24). I Cor. 11:23 ff., gives quite a detailed account of the Lord's Supper and 10:16 and 11:20 show he had told his readers previously, so that ideas concerning it were current in the church. I Cor. 11:23, "in the night in which he was betrayed" reflects knowledge of Judas the traitor. I Th. 2:15, "who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets". Paul knew his death was due to a conflict with Jewish authorities. I Cor. 5:7&8 indicates the time of the crucifixion as in conjunction with the passover. I Cor. 15:3-4, "Christ died", "was buried", and "hath been raised". The facts of the death on the cross, burial and resurrection are witnessed by so many passages in Paul that it seems useless to list them. Some of them are: I Cor. 2:2, 8, II Cor. 4:10, 5:14, 13:4, Phil. 3:10, and Col. 2:12&14. In Gal. 3:13 he refers to the tree and to the nails in Col. 2:14. II Cor. 5:15, "And he died for all that they that live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again"—his death

was an act of love. Phil.2:8, "obedience even unto death, yea, the death of the cross" makes of his death an act of obedience. I Cor.2:8, "for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory", when compared with the two above passages indicates that Paul had little of the systematic teaching which some have tried to present him and that when he forgot his theology, he went back to the admittedly earlier thought of Jesus' death, Acts 2:23 and 3:17, as due to the ignorance and unbelief of the Jewish people. That view makes of it far more a crime at their hands than the great fact of religious history.

I Cor.15:4-8, the appearances "to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now;" then to James, then to all the apostles, and last of all "to me also". Weizsäcker thinks Paul did not regard the appearances to the rest as physical, but thought they were all like his, spiritual appearances. Their nature need not be discussed, as the significant feature here is the order in which he presents them. The series begins not at the grave, but with Peter. But may not Paul in this possess the older and more trustworthy tradition? Mark states that those who went to the tomb did not see the resurrected Jesus, but they were told that he had gone into Galilee. It is at least plausible that if we had the original conclusion of Mark from 16:9 on, the anticipation aroused by 16:7 would be fulfilled in an account of the first appearance in Galilee to Peter and the disciples in Paul's order. Reasoning from the fragment we have, it seems probable that this tradition is supported by the gospel of Peter. If Mark has the oldest tradition here, and if he agreed essentially with that

of Paul, both would be supported, seemingly, by Luke 24:34 in which the eleven tell those who had been companions of Jesus on the road to Emmaus, "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon", with no apparent knowledge of any other appearance. Then Paul gives assurance by stating that his witness can be confirmed by numerous people who "remain until now", and feels that the appearance to him was the last of its kind.

Finally there is the practical question of the demands of Paul's missionary work which has been too often forgotten. Feine, Johannes Weiss, and Moe are prominent among the few who have given it attention. As one has put it, would a Gentile be baptized in the name of a hated Jew without information about him? Many questions Paul would need to be able to answer and how could he convince others, if he did not know? This together with the amount of synoptic material he reflects in his epistles merely creates the presumption that he knew much more of it than appears in his work and the absence of certain references to Jesus' baptism, temptation, miracles and ascension, though some find them all- and they might be implied- is of little note. The character of the history of Acts is highly regarded and to its Lucan authorship large assent is given, but what does it reflect of the miracles of Jesus? It seems certain that one who saw the signs of an apostolate in "signs and wonders" (II Cor. 12:12), who referred to Christ as working signs and wonders through him (Rom. 15:13&19) and who wrote Gal. 3:5, "He therefore that supplieth to you the spirit and worketh among you", must have known and reported the miracles of Jesus to his churches. Such an estimate of Paul is supported by Gal. 1:14, "And I ad-

vanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers". This verse shows Paul to have been a traditionalist as a Jew and all the data set forth in this investigation point to the conclusion that he changed not his spirit, but the content of the tradition, when he became a Christian. As a result he has acquired and passed on sufficient knowledge to serve as some basis for Sturm's conclusion that "aus seinen Schriften das geschichtlichen Leben und Wirken Jesu, wie die Grundschrift aus einer Palimpseste, zu einen verhältnismässig guten Teile uns entgegenleuchtet." (Der Apostel Paulus und die evangelische Überlieferung, s.17)

B. Historical data from the life of Jesus in other writings, e.g. Acts, I Peter, Hebrews, and certain of the Apostolic Fathers. With Paul's sketch of the earthly Jesus Acts, I Peter and Hebrews in general agree, as the following brief survey will show. They agree in the omission of any reference to the virgin birth or to the title, "Son of Man". Jesus is of the seed of David, Acts 13:23; of Judah, Heb.7:4; is a man, Acts 4:10, 10:38, 22:8 Heb. 2:11 f., 12:2. Among the characteristics of his life are love, Heb.13:1, I Peter 4:3; sinless, Acts 3:14, 4:27, 7:52, Heb. 4:15, 7:26, 9:14, I Peter 1:15, and 2:22. He is our example, I Peter 2:21; endured sufferings, Heb.5:7&8, 13:12, I Peter 1:11, 2:21, 23-24, 4:1, 13 and 5:1. The Lord's Supper is frequently referred to in Acts and references to the death and resurrection are found in Acts 2:24,32, 5:30, 10:39-40, 13:29f., 18:31, Heb.2:9,14, 13:12&20, I Peter 1:29, 2:24 and 3:13 among others. "The tree" of Gal.3:13 appears in Acts 5:30, 10:39, 13:29 and I Peter 2:24, an evident part of the common recital.

References are made in these writings to the temptations and ascension of Jesus, but they are exceptions in the almost identical picture given. This study confirms the conclusion of Oscar Holtzmann that "the genuine epistles of Paul convey far more historical information as to the actual course of Jesus' life than any other epistles in the New Testament." (The life of Jesus, p.11) That Acts in its reflection of the facts about Jesus' life is much like the epistles can not be charged to the author's lack of knowledge or interest, if he be Luke. Harnack's word (Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte, '11, p.81) on the relation of Acts to gospel history may be equally well applied to Paul in the face of large discounts on his knowledge of that history. "Wenn wir von dem Verfasser der Apostelgeschichte nur dieses Werk und nicht auch das Evangelium besäßen, so würde voraussichtlich das Urteil über seine Kenntnisse der evangelischen Geschichte also lauten: dieser Mann hat von der evangelischen so gut wie nichts anderes gewusst, als was die christologische Dogmatik ihm zugetragen hat, speziell aber hat er von der synoptischen Tradition ganz abseits gestanden."

Apart from the gospels neither eyewitness nor historian as such uses more of this material than does Paul. The question as to why he does not use more will be considered later. Not so much is found in Ignatius' work from the first decade or two of the second century. To make this comparison is much fairer than with a modern writing, for knowledge of the gospel tradition is much more prevalent now. Jesus was of the family of David, To the Ephesians 18:2, 20:2, To the Smyrnaeans 1:1, To the Trallians 9:1; "born of Mary", To the Ephesians 7:2, 18:2,

To the Trallians 2:2; "born of the virgin", To the Smyrnaeans 1:1, and To the Ephesians 9. Jesus was a man, To the Trallians 2:2 and To the Smyrnaeans 2 and 5. He knows Jesus was baptised by John, To the Smyrnaeans 2:1 and 7:1 and that he should be the Christian example, To the Ephesians 10:3 and To the Philadelphians 7:2. The Lord's Supper is described, To the Philadelphians 4. Jesus' crucifixion appears in To the Ephesians 9:1, 18:1, 16:2, To the Magnesians 11, To the Trallians 9:1, 11:2, To the Smyrnaeans 1:1 and 2, and happened under Pontius Pilate and Herod, To the Magnesians 11, To the Trallians 9:1 and To the Smyrnaeans 1:2. The resurrection and appearances he alludes to in To the Trallians 9:2, To the Philadelphians 9:2 and To the Smyrnaeans 3. It would be equally unscientific and unwarranted to draw the conclusion from the argumentum de silentio in some particulars that the above evidence represents all that Paul and Ignatius really knew about Jesus.

C. Passages which may imply knowledge of Jesus' earthly life. These are not so free from other construction as those previously cited have been. However they may be interpreted, they can neither add nor subtract very much from the impression given by the above material, so they will be treated here but briefly.

I Cor. 9:14, "Even so did the Lord ordain that they that proclaim the gospel", uses a word of Jesus in Mt. 10:10 and Lk. 10:7 - a comparison of which will be made later - at the time of the sending out of the twelve and so may suggest knowledge of that incident.

Gal. 1:12, "For neither did I receive it from man, nor was

I taught, but it came to me through revelation", and 16b, "straightway I conferred not with flesh and blood". Paul may here relate himself to the experience of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, when after his "confession", he was told (Mt.16:17) "flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto me". Peter had won his knowledge of Jesus in purely human ways, as had Paul also, and these materials prepare him for the insight which he feels may be as clearly revealed to him as was that of Peter's. If this is the correct interpretation, Paul, unlike some of his interpreters, secured his facts before he developed his theories.

II Cor.3:18, "τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν", shows possible contact with Mk.9:2, "καὶ μεταμορφώθη, ἑφανέρωσαν αὐτῶν ". Some try to convert the account of the transfiguration into an allegory dependent on II Cor.3:7-4:6, but Feine finds them parallel with μεταμορφῶν as the key word. (Jesus und Paulus) Mark 9:1 is not Pauline and Peter's inability to understand it favors a measure of historicity for the narrative with which Paul might have been familiar.

I Cor.12:3, "no man speaking in the spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema; and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit", may reflect knowledge of John's protest against others casting out demons in the name of Jesus, when Jesus spoke a similar word (Mk.9:38-40).

II Cor.8:9, "though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich", has been variously interpreted and is sufficiently ambiguous to be of little value for evidence on this subject. Goguel rejects it

as a reference to the earthly poverty of Jesus and declines to believe that riches are promised the Corinthians, for that would imply that Jesus once had earthly riches. Instead it refers to his voluntary humiliation and the riches like the verse are spiritual in character. Typical of the other view is that of Moe that Paul here thought not about the incarnation, but the fact that Jesus was born poor, and holds that ἐντοχέουσαν was not used figuratively. We have no right, he thinks, to regard the riches of believers here to consist in future heavenly glory merely, but that earthly possessions may be included. This interpretation has in its favor the fact that the verse appears in a context which purposes to stimulate giving to the saints at Jerusalem. It also meets Sturm's objection that we must not speak of spiritual riches and earthly poverty here at the same time by putting them in the same field. Jesus' poverty, as expressive of his humility, has spiritual significance. Paul probably alludes to that fact of his life.

Phil.2:3, "he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross", was written, Deissmann thinks, under the impression of the Gethsemane tradition, as proof of the obedience of Jesus to the Father (Paulus, s.115). An allusion to this tradition may be present in Heb. 5:7.

Rom.4:25, "ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ πρῶτα ἁμαρτήματα". παραδίδομι to express the thought that Jesus was delivered up is used by Paul also in Rom.8:32, Gal.2:20 and Ephes.5:2. It is also used in the same way in Lk.9:31, 10:33, 15:15 and parallels and in Acts 2:23 and 3:13. Such a word does not convince one of dependence, but may represent an expression already fixed in the

tradition about the latter part of Jesus' life.

D. Did Paul know Jesus personally? Had he ever seen him? The evidence is not very great in extent and both sides of the question are defended by various scholars. Among those who answer the question affirmatively are Clemen, Drescher, H.J. Holtzmann, Lake, Moe, and Johannes Weiss. A few of those who take the negative position are B.W. Bacon, Deissmann, Feile, Goguel, Jülicher, Külbing, Renan and Weizsäcker.

One of the arguments for the possibility of Paul's having seen Jesus is the fact that they were practically contemporaries and that the former's student days in Jerusalem may have been during the activity of Jesus. There is no positive evidence for it, for even his familiarity with the details of the Passion week he could have taken over from early Christians. Then it is emphasized, especially by Johannes Weiss, that his vision on the road to Damascus can be made intelligible only by the supposition that Paul had seen Jesus and had a definite picture of him in his mind that he could recognize. Again there is no evidence and the ability of the human mind to formulate pictures of people, much heard about but never seen, not be underestimated.

I Cor. 9:1, "Am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" Thayer regards ὤψα here as meaning "to see with the eyes", but the word is also used to mean "to see with the mind", "to see spiritually", "to experience" even, so it is ambiguous, to say the least. The expression here means simply that Paul regarded his sight of Jesus as equal to that of Peter and the rest, but there is no evidence that he thought their post-

resurrection sight of him as anything more than spiritual, like his. I Cor.15:53-41 suggests that the spiritual body was just as real to Paul as the material and raises the question whether Paul had our conception of immaterial spirit or whether he shared the somewhat current view of a diaphanous, ghost-like spirit. At any rate this verse is entirely inconclusive on this problem.

II Cor.5:16, "even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more", has to its credit a complete menu card of various interpretations. Bacon, The Story of Paul (p.16), translates it, "yea, though (as Jews) we have known a Messiah of a fleshly type, yet we would know such a Messiah no more". So think Maur, Sabatier, and Bernard, The Expositor's Greek Testament, ad loc. Some, e.g. Heinrich, Das Sendschreiben an die Korinther, ad loc., think the contrast is not between Saul the Pharisee and Paul the apostle, but one between the ordinary human judgment and the judgment "in Christ". Lake, The Earlier Epistles of Paul (p.225), Johannes Weiss, Paul and Jesus (p.24 f.), and Olaf Voe, Paulus und die evangelische Geschichte (s.3 f.), all agree that this verse is decisive that Paul had seen Jesus and could glory in such knowledge, but that is now not so important as more real knowledge of him. To go into the detailed discussion of such an ambiguous and inconclusive verse will lead far afield and hardly pay expenses. For that reason Feine, Jülicher and Hülbing decline to consider it seriously.

This part of the argument remains inconclusive. Paul's school days in Jerusalem could have been after the crucifixion.

If he had seen him then, he would not have approached him likely and if he had, some trace of a combat would likely remain. The charge that he had not seen him, Paul never meets with an unambiguous denial. These considerations together with the general impression left by his epistles point toward the conclusion that Paul never knew Jesus personally and that his seeing him is little more than a possibility.

2. The teaching of Jesus as reflected by Paul.

A. Quotations.

Paul's quotations from Jesus are clearly acknowledged appeals to his authority in faith and morals and are not only least open to question, but furnish unmistakable evidence of dependence.

I Th. 4:15

Τοῦτο γάρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας· 16. ὅτι αὐτοὶ ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσρατι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ καταβήσεται ἅπ' οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον, 17. ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀρπαχθόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἕρα καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἑσόμεθα.

Mk. 9:1.

Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν τινες ὥρα τῶν ἐστιῶν κότων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου ἕως ἄν ἴδωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐληλυθούσαν ἐν δυνάμει.

Characteristically Matthew in 16:28 changes Mark's indefinite βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ to the more definite υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Mk. 15:30.

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη μέχρις οὐ ταῦτα πάντα γένωνται.

Mk. 15:26.

καὶ τότε ὁφονταὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μέτα

18. ὅτε παρα-καλεῖτε ἀλλή-
λους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις.

δυνάμει πολλῆς καὶ δόξης.

27. καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους
καὶ ἐπιτινάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ]
ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἁνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρον γῆς
ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

Mt.24:30-31, parallel to Mk.13:26-27, adds to νεφέλαις the words, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and to ἀγγέλους the words, αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγ-
γος μεγάλης.

These verses of Paul's agree with no synoptic passage, it will be noted, but "ganz zu der Anschauung Jesu stimmt". (Endt, Die Lehre des Paulus verglichen mit der Lehre Jesu, Ztschft. für Theol. u. Kirche, '94, s.16) Whether we can locate it or not, there is no question but that Paul is consciously using a logion of Jesus well known to him, for a revelation mediated to him the Holy Spirit he does not report as the words of the Lord (I Cor.15:51 and Rom.11:25f). These references are the more significant that their common word, "mystery", is used as it is in Mk.4:11 in the sense of esoteric truth. But even though it has been largely hidden and so revealed to him, it is not in so real a sense a word of the Lord's as is this word he writes the Thessalonians. An analysis of the above passage shows that I Th. 4:15 with its ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες and παρούσιν rests upon the οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου and ἐληλυθυῖαν respectively of Mk.9:1 or the equivalent idea of 13:30. The change introduced by tradition, probably, in Mt.13:23, as noted above, accounts for the substitution ὁ κύριος for τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The ἐν νεφέλαις, which appears in both, suggests

the idea of descent which accounts for the word, οὐρανοῦ, in v.16 of Paul's and Mt. 24:30 and also the ἀπάντησιν of v.17. ἐν σάλπιγγι of v.16 probably goes back to the source of Mt's. Παρὰ σάλπιγγος in 14:31. It must be admitted that the dominant interest of the Pauline and synoptic passages is different. In the synoptics it is merely the Parousia. In the Thessalonian epistles it is the resurrection of the dead. How the dead are to be treated at the time of the Parousia does not appear in the gospels. If Jesus spoke the words here given us by Mark and his parallels, their different purpose would not necessarily exclude Paul's adaptation of them to comfort those who were despairing because of those who had fallen asleep. The Son of man of Enoch and Daniel seems to have been identified with the thought of the Davidic Messiah in the thought of Paul. If Jesus never made that identification, he must have used the term, Son of man, so as to dislodge popular thought on that theme and thus to associate it with what he did say. ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου and καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον of v.16 are not found in the known words of Jesus. Nor is εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἄρρον and according to Moffatt it has no Jewish parallel. (The Expositor's Greek Testament, ad loc.) Some have ascribed these words to Jesus and some to Jewish apocalyptic sources. It looks much like a word of Jesus which contained or had added to it some Jewish apocalyptic material plus a little of Paul's interpretation. When he later discusses the same question in I and II Cor., he seems to have given up some of his "Thessalonian" ideas, which is intelligible, if he, as his "Weltanschauung" became more Christian,

ceased to use Jewish apocalyptic conceptions in interpreting the logia of Jesus. ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις in v.18 may refer to an early collection of Jesus' words or to an early oral tradition that lies back of both Paul and the synoptics.

Mk.10:11f., "and he

I Cor.7:10f., "But unto the	saith (λέγει) unto them,
married I give charge (παραγγέλλω),	Whosoever shall put
yea not I, but the Lord, That	away his wife, and
the wife depart not from her	marry another, committeth
husband (but should she depart,	adultery against her: and
let her remain unmarried, or else	if she herself shall put
be reconciled to her husband); and	away her husband, and mar-
that the husband leave not his	ry another, she committeth
wife."	adultery."

This passage of Paul's rests not on Mt.5:32, as some have held, since sex equality seems absent in it and the prohibition of divorcing the wife and marrying the divorcee is but half the problem of I Cor.7:10f. Nor is it clear that it depends on Mk.10:9 and parallels, as Feine contends, for its problem is treated in the synoptics in Mk.10:11-12 only. Feine's objection to the latter is that it is not found in Jewish law, but reflects the marriage laws of the Greeks and Romans, and so is open to the charge of an addition to meet later needs. So thinks Heinrici in *Das erste Sendschreiben an der Korinthier*, '80, (ad loc.), who on the basis of this verse concludes Paul had a collection of the sayings of Jesus at his disposal. What reason is there ~~here~~ to feel that Jesus might not have proclaimed this law on his own authority or even borrowed the Greek and

Roman standard? Foreign customs introduced the practice of the wife to divorce the husband into Palestine during New Testament times, but since the Hebrew law did not recognise it and it seemed distasteful to Jewish custom, it was opposed by Josephus (Antiq. 15:7 and 13:5) and by the Talmudic writers, who would only permit her to ask her husband to give her a divorce. Further there are variants of this Marcan passage and the codex sinaiticus follows, as in Paul, the non-Jewish order of placing the case of the wife before that of the husband by placing v.12 before v.11. Since then Paul's unnatural order may have been that of the source, since he states specifically it is not his, a statement he does not make when he applies principles of Jesus to specific cases (I Cor.3:8) and since he uses παραγγέλλω a military word of command, in vv.10 and 11 and returns to λέγω in 12, the natural conclusion here is that Paul simply reproduces Jesus.

It must be noted that Paul here emphatically calls attention to the fact that he has the highest authority for the law he lays down. In 7:12 with reference to mixed marriages and in v. 25 concerning unmarried women he has no word of the Lord's, but his own word is sufficient. Paul's frankness where he has no word of Christ's at hand, removes all doubt from what he means when he says in v. 10, "I give charge, yea not I, but the Lord". He positively distinguishes his words here from those of Jesus and the statement establishes his knowledge of a saying Jesus had categorically spoken on this theme.

I Cor.9.:14, "Even so did the Lord ordain that they that proclaim the gospel should live

Lk.10:7, "And in that same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give:

of the gospel."

for the laborer is worthy of
his hire. (Mt.10:10)

Verbal similarity here is lacking, but that there is a direct reference that amounts to dependence is practically undisputed. If Paul knew this saying of Jesus and could appeal to it when primitive Christian rights were forming, the possibility of familiarity with others would follow.

Acts 20:35, "And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus that he himself said, it is more blessed to give than to receive," shows Paul's familiarity, as it occurs in his speech at Miletus to the elders of Ephesus, with words of Jesus which are not preserved by the gospels. In the views of Harnack, (Acts of the Apostles, p.129), and Gardner in his "The Speeches of St Paul in Acts" (Cambridge Biblical Essays, p.401f.) this speech which contains constant parallels with Paul's Epistles is the speech of Paul in Acts which contains the most of him and least of Luke, and so may be regarded as reasonably historical. If in one out of five quotations from Jesus Paul reflects materials not given by the synoptics, a presumption is created that he may sometimes be near the tradition of Jesus when he has little or no contact with the gospels.

I Cor. 11:23

Mk.14:22

Lk.22:19

ἔγω γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐ- καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐ-
τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρ- τῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐ- χριστήτης ἔκλασεν καὶ
ἔδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος λογιῆσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων
Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα
παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον ἔκλασεν λέγει· τοῦτο μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόν-
καὶ εὐχαριστήτης ἔκλασεν. ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα μου. μενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε
24. καὶ εἶπεν τοῦτό μου 23. καὶ λαβὼν ποτή-εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

ἐστὶν τὸ τῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ριον εὐχαριστήτης 20. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὅ-
υμῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὕτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι,
εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνη- ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάν- λέγων τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον
σιν. 25. ὡσαύτως καὶ τες. 24. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ καὶ νῆ διχθήκη ἐν τῷ
τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καὶ νῆ αὐτοῖς· τοῦτο ἐστὶν αἷματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
διχθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς ἐκχυννόμενον.
ἐμῷ αἷματι τοῦτο ποι- διχθήκης τὸ εκχυν-
εῖτε, ὅσκις ἂν νόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.
πίνετε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν
ἀνάμνησιν.

To read over these three passages is to be furnished
 sufficient evidence of their closest connection, but Brückner
 regards the Pauline account as unhistorical. It has divergences
 from the synoptic account, but really no more than exists be-
 tween the synoptic gospels and in all essentials they agree.
 Heinrich points out (Das erste Sendschreiben an die Korinther,
 ad loc.) that had Paul meant an unmediated reception of tradi-
 tion, he would have used παρά but he uses ἀπό so that while
 Christ was the "Urheber", the tradition had reached him through
 ordinary means. Paul's words in so far as they are found in
 either Mark or Luke, are underlined, but that is not the entire
 story. Paul knows the historical setting of the Lord's Supper
 (v.23). The giving of the bread and the cup is missing in Paul's
 account, but 10:16 and 11:20 show he had previously told the
 Corinthians about the Eucharist and likely had observed it with
 them, so they needed no specially detailed account. τοῦτο ποι-
 εῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν is not in Mk., so it is held by
 some to be an addition to the earlier tradition, because of the
 needs of the church and that while it is in Luke, it is an
 interpolation here. It was in the early church, Acts 2:46, and
 Paul probably found it when he was converted (Acts 9:18), so

was convinced by the practice of the Church that the request had come from Jesus. The Eucharist had no special place in Paul's theological thought, so he could have had little inclination to develop this incident which would be less subject to change because of the deep impression that evening made on Jesus' followers. Paul here shows a strong historical interest in the facts of primitive Christianity, and dependence upon Jesus is certain.

If Paul had a collection of the sayings of Jesus at hand, it must be admitted he did not often use it. Why did he not quote Jesus more? Are the alternatives, as some say, but two, either that he did not know or that Jesus was not then the absolute authority he later became? It may well be that Paul is often as near the words of Jesus as are our gospel records. The facts are just what would be expected, if Paul reaches his message by meditation upon the tradition, the mind of Christ.

These sayings set forth the claim that they are quotations from, not allusions to the teaching of Jesus. They show that in questions of both morals and faith the words of Jesus are the supreme authority for the Christian community. If that is their place concerning divorce, giving, the support of the gospel workers, the conduct of the Lord's Supper and the fasts of those who have died before the Parousia, can we believe that that authority did not extend to the same degree to other concerns of the apostolic church? They have an authority to Paul greater than that of the law or even of reason itself, an authority beyond compare. With such an attitude toward the teaching of Jesus, conscious of dependence upon it, to suppose that the great Apostle was or could have been indifferent to its content is

nothing short of absurd.

B. Allusions to the teaching of Jesus.

Some of the passages under this heading will be found as evidently echoes of the teaching of Jesus, as even the quotations, while many others are doubtful or at least open to question. An attempt will be made to avoid citing passages that are possibly the product of a Jewish inheritance or those whose similarities are trivial or quite doubtful, in the conviction that whatever their bearing upon the problem, they can neither add or detract from the conclusion other data might warrant.

(1) The "Gospel of Christ". τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ is an expression Paul frequently used (I Th.3:2, Gal.1:7, I Cor. 9:12, 9:13, 10:14, Rom.15:19, and Phil.1:27), or τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ (II Th.1:8), or τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. (Rom.1:9). Many have regarded the genitive here as objective and so hold it to be the gospel "about Christ", but this is not beyond doubt at least. In Gal.1:7 the subjective genitive is really the only distinction between these phrases and the other "gospels" referred to in the context. This applies not only to the other references, somewhat, but to the synonyms of the phrase as well, ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου (I Th.1:3, II Th.3:1), or τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Col. 3:16) and τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Rom.16:25). In the last example and elsewhere the subjective genitive, "Christ's gospel", seems necessary to distinguish between it and τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. Not to so construe it is to introduce a false contrast between them. By assuming that the gospel preached by all the apostles

was the same, by never granting that his opponents in Galatia, at Corinth or Rome preached any other Jesus than his, and by asserting that Jesus was its source, a strong presumption is thrown toward the subjective genitive or genitive of authorship. By it Paul means that the unity of the gospel is found in Jesus.

Nor is the force of this significant fact weakened by such a passage as I Cor. 15:1ff. Apparently Paul gives here a summary of the gospel he has received and preached. In reality he is offering historical evidence of the resurrection of Jesus as part of his argument for the resurrection of all and while a balanced summary is not to be expected in the apology and the polemic, this one has great value. It has never been given him by the Messianic thought he inherited, "That he hath been raised on the third day" might have been, since Judaism had no place for a dead Messiah, but never so with his death and burial. Then the use of the aorist indicative, ἀπέθωκεν and ἐτάφη makes it clear that Paul is thinking of historical events. The burial emphasizes the completeness of the death. But some object that Jesus said but little, if anything, about these events, so this is not the gospel of Jesus, but one about him. However Paul contends he is not an innovator but a transmitter and it must be noted that his message here is not theological or dogmatic, but historical in character. The message of Jesus had been lived as well as spoken. The purpose to help men overcome sin had dominated him. That purpose had been most nearly achieved, the spirit of his life most highly expressed in his death. Those two ideas were very early put together into the form, "that Christ died for our sins", a thought so completely non-Jewish,

save as Deutero-Isaiah's suffering servant was later related to it, that nothing short of the historical Jesus can be its explanation. Reference is made to the enigma in "according to the scriptures" on p. 96, and to the primary character of the "appearances" on p. 58f. This passage is a "thorn in the flesh" to any who would deny Paul's close relationship to early tradition about Jesus.

(2) The kingdom of God. Schweitzer, Paul and his Interpreters, charges that scholars from Baur down do not give sufficient attention to Paul's neglect of the theme of the kingdom of God, as Jesus gave it. The demand that the Apostle should give a full account of the preaching of Jesus on that theme has been one of the main supports of the idea that Paul was indifferent to the historical Jesus. While he uses the term but twelve times, more important is the question whether that use he makes of it is in harmony with that of Jesus. Then we may rightfully ask if he does not often present some of its essential ideas by means of other expressions.

Rom. 14:17

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
θεοῦ βρῶτες καὶ πότις, ἀλλὰ δι-
καιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

I Cor. 6:9a.

ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἕδικοι θεοῦ
βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν,

Similar are Gal. 5:21, Ephes. 5:5.

I Cor. 15:24,

"Then cometh the end,

Mt. 5 in the beatitudes ex-

presses the characteristics of
members of the kingdom. In vv.

6 and 9 we find δικαιοσύνη and
εἰρηνοποιοί and μακάριοι

is found throughout.

Mt. 6:33

ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλεί-

αν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ,

Lk. 17:21,

"for lo the kingdom of God

when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God even the Father."

is within you." Similar in time are Mt.9:1, Mk.1:15, Mt. 20:31, 23:31. Similar in inwardness are the parables of growth. The Kingdom is future in Mk.13 and Mt.24.

Paul's thought that the kingdom is righteousness is almost omnipresent in the teaching of Jesus, in Mt. 5-7 and especially in 6:33, if we follow the reading of codex Vaticanus which reverses the order of βασιλείαν and δικαιοσύνην. I Cor.6:9 shows that Paul's thought, like that of Jesus, is both ethical and eschatological. It is within and also without man. It is here and it is yet to come. It is a gift and yet man must strive for it. These antinomies are present in the kingdom-idea of both Jesus and Paul. In the thought of Jesus to enter into the kingdom is to be saved (Mk.10:24 and 26). To Paul Jesus is the only means of salvation (I Cor.2:2). The difference was chiefly in the expression, for "in the kingdom" to Jesus was really equivalent to "in Christ" to Paul. Jesus wanted men to be in the kingdom and to have the kingdom in them, while Paul's desire was that they might be in Christ and Christ in them. The idea of transformation is in both, in Jesus' "except ye become as little children" (Mt.18:3), and in Paul's "new creature" (II Cor.5:17). The argument of Johannes Weiss that with Jesus moral change was antecedent to the kingdom, while with Paul it was largely a subsequent gift, does not sufficiently consider I Cor.6:9-10, Gal.5:21 and Ephes.5:5. Paul, too, relies on the human will, though not so much. Then Paul's καταλλαγή (Rom.5:11 and II Cor. 5:18 and 19) is about the same as Jesus' requirement of

μετένοια (1K. 1:15).

But why did he not use the term more frequently? It had been given to Jews, while Paul dealt with Greeks. The idea, too, is found where the term is used. Titius (Der Paulinismus, II: 32) argues that the oriental does not know our sharp distinctions between family and political bonds, so we may find the idea in Phil.3:20, "For our citizenship is in heaven", Ephes.2:12, "the commonwealth of Israel", v.19, "the household of God", Gal.4:7, "son and heir", and wherever we find the expression, "children of God". Another reason is apparent in the absence of any explanation of the term. The idea had played a greater role in his oral teaching and his readers knew it. Lastly the person of Jesus, because the kingdom is most closely related to him, has overshadowed it, or better as Kähler (Gehört Jesus in das Evangelium, s.22, quoted by J. Weiss, Jesus und Paulus) puts it, "Die Reichspredigt ist die verhüllte Selbstaussage, das Evangelium von Christo ist die enthüllte und voll entfaltete Selbstaussage." Paul like Jesus eliminated the Jewish political features of the conception and altogether understood it much as did he.

(3) The thought of God.

Rom.11:23.

κακεῖνοι δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτρέψω-
σιν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐνκεντριθεύσονται
δυνατὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς πάλιν
ἐνκεντρίσαι αὐτούς.

1 Cor. 8:6.

Ἰλλ' ἡμῖν εἰς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ

1K.10:27.

ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰησοῦς
λέγει παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἄδύνατον,
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ θεῷ· πάντων γὰρ
δυνατὴ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

Mc. 12:29.

ἀπεκρίσθη ὁ ἰησοῦς ὅτι πρώτη

οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, ἐστὶν ἄκουσ, ἰσχυρὰ, κύριος ὁ καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἰς ἐστίν, οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.

In God's δυνατός ἐνκεντρίται of Rom.11:33 is clearly a special application, characteristic of Paul, of the principle of God's πάντα δυνατά of Mk.10:27 and shows a community of belief, even though its general prevalence weakens the force of any possible dependence here. The monotheistic emphasis of Jesus in Mk.12:29, as a part of the first or greatest commandment of all, is maintained by Paul's εἰς θεός of I Cor.8:6, and also in Rom.3:29f., despite his conception of the Divinity of Jesus. Not only do we find God's omnipotence and uniqueness witnessed by both Jesus and Paul, but both regard him as the creator (Mk.10:6 and Rom.1:25), as sovereign (Mt.5:45 and Rom.9:19f.), as holy (Mk.10:16, Mt.5:48 and Rom.2:4) and as the possessor not only of foreknowledge, but of omniscience (Mt.6:8, 24:36 and Rom.8:29 & 11:33).

The center of neither's thought is to be found however in the attributes or essence of God, but in the mutual relation of God and man. The interest of Jesus is chiefly in the attitude of God toward the sinner, while Paul's is rather in his attitude toward sin, but it amounts to the same in the end, since in this case the individual in Jesus becomes the general in his apostle. The great feature is that the interest of both is far more religious and practical than speculative.

Rom.8:14

ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἔχον
ταὺ οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ.

Mt.5:9

μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι
[αὐτοὶ] υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

Phil.4:6,

Mt.6:25,

"In nothing be anxious
(μὴ μεριμνᾶτε); but in every-

"Be not anxious (μὴ
μεριμνᾶτε) for your life, what

thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God."

I Th.2:13,

"that when ye received from us the word of the message, even the word of God, ye accepted it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God." (λόγος is used here.)

ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on."

Mt.10:20,

"For it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." (λαλέω is used.)

The thought of God as caring for his own, echoes here in Phil.4:6 and in Rom.8:28-39, where thought was not to be found in Paul (Paulus, 2te Aufl., s.91). Since the key word in both is μή περιφρονᾶτε, found only in the gospels and seven times in Paul's epistles, it is apparent that the thought of God's care is the same and verbal dependence may be possible. Rom.8:14 and Mt.5:9 are in agreement that the possession of a certain spirit or quality of God's enrolls one among the οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ. The difference between λόγος and λαλέω in I Th.2:13 and Mt.10:20 does not affect the agreement in both that the representative of God speaks not only his own, but the word of God as well. Paul regards God not only as the Father of Jesus (II Cor.1:3, 11:31 and Rom.15:6 among others), but speaks of him also as the Father of Christians thirtytwo times. Johannes Weiss insists that while the Fatherhood of God is a Jewish idea, the warmth and feeling in Paul's expression of it is Christian. Paul's cour-

age, as a Jew, to say "Our Father" (Rom. 1:7 and many other passages) was won from Jesus (Mt. 6:9 and 11:27). To both the place of God in the worship of his children is the same. What difference there may be Goguel accounts for on the basis that Jesus affirms, while Paul seeks to explain. (L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ, p.195)

The classical expression of the attitude of the believer in his worship of God is the Lord's Prayer and some are much concerned, because it does not actually appear anywhere in Paul's writings. Can they explain its absence from Mark? Moe thinks Mark does reflect it in 11:24 and 25 and in 14:36 and 38 (Paulus und die evangelische Geschichte, s.194). To a much greater degree does it appear in Paul's writings.

Eph. 4:32

χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς καθὼς
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχάρισατο
ὑμῖν. Also in Col. 3:12.

Mt. 6:12

καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα
ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς
ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.

II Thess. 2:3,

καὶ φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Mt. 6:13o,

ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

In the first parallels there is no verbal similarity, but ἀφίημι and χαρίζομαι are essentially synonyms and the ideas are identical. In both Pauline passages are probable reminiscences of the Lord's Prayer. So thinks Feine (Jesus und Paulus, s.252f.) Since Mt. 6:13b is a tradition not given by any one else, Paul's reflection of it makes it at least a little more certain. Mt. uses ρῦσαι which means deliver or snatch from danger, while Paul uses φυλάξει which means keep guard over or keep in safety, so the words are practically identical. To note that the former means more a delivery from the danger into which the

suppliant has fallen, while the latter has more the sense of a protection from falling into that danger is to split a linguistic hair in which it is fair to doubt that Paul had much interest. In I Cor. 10:13 appears a possible allusion to "bring us not into temptation" and the cumulative impression of these passages is that Paul knew the Lord's Prayer and had given it to his churches. Here as elsewhere he found the same thought of and attitude toward God as in Jesus, but reached and expressed in the apostle's own ways.

(4) The relation of Paul's thought of Jesus to that of Jesus about himself. Has Paul's thought of Christ any relation to his knowledge of the earthly Jesus? Brückner (Zum Thema Jesus und Paulus, Ztschrift f. d. N.T.Wissenschaft, '06, s.117) replies, "Das paulinische Christusbild ist in allen seinen Zügen aus sich selbst heraus verständlich, es weist nirgends auf eine Abhängigkeit von der Persönlichkeit Jesu hin und schliesst eine solche durch die Bedeutungslosigkeit des Erdenlebens Jesu für Paulus aus." Knowling answers that there is growing agreement between more or less conservative critics, Feine, Weyl, Heinrici, Resch, Sanday, Fairbairn and Drummond, that Paul's statements about the person of Christ find their source in the teaching of Jesus about himself and that they agree essentially with the witness of the twelve and the early church. With the Pauline Christology as such, save as it is connected in some way with the teaching of Jesus, spoken or lived, this study is not concerned.

Is it true, as Kaftan claims, that the conception of Christ as coequal with God, is the continuation of the Messianic

consciousness of Jesus? Did Jesus proclaim this Messianic? Some think he was not conscious of it until the close of his life, that he was a prophet or teacher and so called not κύριος but διδάσκαλος. They think such a consciousness does not go hand in hand with the temptations, prayers and simple Jewish piety that entered into his life. Some think Jesus did announce his Messiahship and others that he never did so publicly, but all the while believed he was. The data admits no decisive answer. It can be said that Jesus never claimed to be one of the God-head and it is a question whether Paul ever meant such co-equality, even when he put him alongside God. He is anxious to preserve the monotheistic standpoint, I Cor.3:6, Rom.3:29f., and even in Phil.2:11, at the close of a great Christological passage. He always avoids calling Christ God and affirms the former's dependence on the latter in I Cor.3:23, "Christ is God's". Then finally we never have given adequate attention to the fact that, however equal the Father and Son may be in some particulars, to the oriental there is an inferiority in the latter that can not overcome.

I Th.4:2,

"For ye know what charge he gave you through the Lord Jesus."

Then he states that this charge called them from uncleanness to a holy life and in the same context follows:

Luke 10:16

Ο. τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῆν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀκούων ἡμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει,
ἀθετεῖ ἄλλὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν καὶ διδόν- καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ἡμῶς ἐρὲς ἀθετεῖ

τὰ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον
εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Rom.10:9,

"Because if thou shalt
confess (ὁμολογήσεις) with
thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and
thou shalt be saved."

ὁδὲ ἐμὲ ἁμαρτῶν ἁμαρταῖ τὸν ἀποσταί-
λαντά με.

Mt.10:32,

"Every one therefore who
shall confess (ὁμολογήσῃ) me
before men, him will I also con-
fess before my Father who is
in heaven."

In both I Th.4:8 and Lk.10:16 there is complete agreement
that the rejection of the words or will of Jesus is a rejection
of God. ἀθετέω is not only used, but is also the key word in
both and that together with the fact that a direct charge of
Jesus is involved in the Pauline passage indicates rather clear-
ly Paul's use of tradition here. The ideas of Rom.10:9 and Mt.
10:32 are apparently synonymous. The prototypes are identical,
save Paul's characteristic addition of belief in Jesus as Lord,
so it must follow that to "confess him before my Father" is
equivalent to "thou shalt be saved". Similar is the thought of
Mt.3:33 whose verb, ἐπαισχύνομαι, and even more its content is
echoed in Rom.1:16a.

Col.3:1 with its "οὐ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ"
καθήμενος and the "ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ" of Mk.16:19 may
both hark to a source other than Jesus. Paul's idea that Jesus
gave himself for our sins (Gal.1:4) finds some basis certainly in
the "But to minister and to give his life a ransom for many"
of Mk.10:45. His words, Phil.2:1, "that in the name of Jesus every
knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and
things under the earth", seems warranted by what Jesus is report-
ed as saying, "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven

and on earth". A similar thought Paul expresses in Ephes.1: 21-22. Still other words of Jesus give the impression that he thought himself more than ordinary man: "Every one that hath left house or brethren, xx for my name's sake shall receive", (Mt.19:29) and Mk. reports it (10:29) "for my sake or for the gospel's sake". He claims he can forgive sins (Mk.2:5) and that his words shall never pass away. Whatever may be said about some of these words in detail, it would seem that only surgical and not critical methods could eliminate the general impression they picture. Paul agreed with Jesus in the character of his departure from the current Jewish thought of the Messiah and doubtless knew that his predecessors had preached that Jesus was Lord of the Sabbath (Mk.2:27) for bar nashid was probably quickly so interpreted rather than as humanity, that he was greater than the temple (Mt.12:6), greater than the prophets (Mt.12:41), was seated at the right hand of God (Mk.16:19) and even heavenly Lord and King.

Then it is quite likely that what Jesus was, taught even more than what he said. Could there have been a greater anti-thesis than that between the crucified Nazarene and the Messianic King? Yet why after the crucifixion of Jesus did the certainty as to what he was, arise, as one has put it, like "the impulse of a compressed spring"? Was it the resurrection? That, if he were unknown or unworthy, would not be enough. Not the least cause was the conviction that came from the impression of what he was. That impression Paul had certified in his own experience. Paul found in Jesus the source of unkindred communion with the Father, for God was present in him. This impres-

sion that Jesus was more than man, the experience of his activity in human life, and the resurrection besides necessitated a Christology and it was not surprising he should go beyond Jesus here. That was largely due to the nature of Paul and to changed conditions which will be treated later. The evidence presented thus far indicates that those differences are not so great as some have seen them to be. Jesus probably never claimed pre-existence, and if he did, the absence of reference to it in Mark and Q leads us to believe that he included in it nothing more than may have belonged to the current belief about the previous existence of every soul. Paul believed clearly in the pre-existence of Jesus, but his allusions to it are so implicit, so ambiguous in one case, at least, and so few (I Cor. 10:4, II Cor. 8:9, Phil. 2:3f., Col. 1:17) when compared with the extent of his work that they seem hardly more than incidental to his thought. In any event this point is not nearly so much of an "irreconcilable" in the teaching of Paul and Jesus as many have affirmed it to be. A bigger question than that of similarity here is that of continuity. In view of this it is serious for Paul's relationship to Jesus, only if he has broken from or contradicted his Lord.

Another question that has bearing on this problem is that of Paul's relation to the primitive church at this point. The evidence in detail will be noted later, but it indicates that Paul followed the main lines of the preaching of the first apostles. They never took exception to his view of Jesus. If he had differed radically from them, how could he have cursed those who preached differently (Gal. 1:8 and 9)? Could he in such an event have secured the approval of the Jerusalem

council (Gal.2:9)? Then Paul used all sorts of names or titles for Jesus, Christ Jesus, Son of David, Christ, The second Adam, Son of God, and Lord, and he never feels called upon to explain what he means, whether writing his own or other churches. In I Cor.15:45 and Rom.5:14 he assumes that his readers know what he means by the second Adam. That is, of course, not decisive that they did, for such assumptions may be responsible for some of the misunderstandings Paul experienced. He probably did not distinguish these names as clearly as some have represented him as doing with reference to the earthly Jesus or the exalted Christ. Wrede would contend that this general agreement between Paul and the primitive church is only because the latter had already left the thought of Jesus. However the evidence of his conformity with the thought and life of his Lord throws a presumption in favor of Kaftan's conclusion that a straight line led from the gospel of Jesus to primitive Christian preaching and it "ist von Anfang an die Predigt von den Gekreuzigten und Auferstandenen gewesen, ist es nicht etwa erst durch Paulus geworden"(Jesus and Paulus, s.27).

(5) The attitude of Jesus and Paul toward the law.

Neither Jesus, "born under the law", nor Paul, the one-time Pharisee, could completely break with the past. Paul's attitude was doubtless in part, if not largely, derived from his experience rather than from Jesus, but it may be asked, even where dependence is quite doubtful, if there is not some evidence of influence in their agreements. They are similar in their attitude toward scripture. Unlike Marcion or the modern man, who begin with Jesus to respectively disprove or establish the Old Testament, Paul uses the latter to prove the

new order, the Messiahship of Jesus (I Cor.15:3) and his resurrection (v.4), though that scripture is unknown to us. Here he simply followed Jesus who in Mt.11:2-6 interprets Isa.55:5 f., and 61:1, as applying to himself. In Mk. 14:49 he says he is to be delivered up, ^{"that the scriptures might be fulfilled"} Jesus' attitude toward the law or scriptures was not that of slavish dependence, for his "but I say unto you"(Mt.5:39) is to replace it. To him the law must not only be subject to his own interpretation, but is not a complete and errorless revelation from God.(Mt.5:33 f.) Both argue that the law can not change what was established earlier; Jesus (Mk.10:6-9) denies the right of divorce, because God joined together our first parents and Paul claims (Gal.3:17) that the law never annulled the promise given 430 years earlier. To Paul the law was, as Wrede puts it (Paulus, s.75), "an intermezzo between Abraham's promises and Christ". The subsidiary character of the law Paul argues not only from its age, but from its source (Gal.3:19). He attacks the Jewish theory, found in the Haggada, that the law was given by the angels as evidence of its inferiority, since the promises came from God. Further to Paul the law was temporary, as shown by his incorrect exegesis of Exodus 34 in II Cor.3:12-18 and both of these arguments seem implicit, at least, in the teaching of Jesus noted above.

Jesus ate with publicans and sinners (Mk2:15), it was his custom to go to the synagogue on the Sabbath (Lk.4:16), he paid the temple tax (Mt.17:27), urged the ten lepers to observe the law (Lk.17:24), observed the passover, and did not condemn the law itself- "when thou doest alms" (Mt.6:2) and "when ye fast" (v.16). How can this be reconciled with Rom.10:4, "For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that

believeth"? However he repudiated the Jew's thought of the Sabbath, said fasting was necessary (Mk.2:18 f), rejected the law as to clean and unclean (Mk.7:1-23), held he need not pay the temple tax, rejected the law on divorce and retaliation, and as the greatest of the commandments failed to choose one of the ten. (Mk.12:28-34) How can this be reconciled with Mt. 5:17, "I came not to destroy (the law) but to fulfil"? Some try to harmonize, while others seek to eliminate this verse. It is echoed quite fully in Rom.3 :31, "Do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid: nay, we establish the law." Both statements agree that the law attains its own ends only through the life and faith generated by Jesus. Christ and faith in him uphold the law. Paul's ὑποτάσσει, upholds, establishes or causes to stand, is essentially equivalent to πληροῶ which means fulfil or cause to be obeyed as it should be.

Among the passages which show agreement and so a possible connection are: Rom.14:5, Lk.6:4, as given by D,

"One man esteemeth one day above another. Another esteemeth every day alike. Let each man be fully assured in his own mind."

"The same day he beheld ^{man} ~~a~~ working on the sabbath and said to him, man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou, but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law."

Mt.12:5,

"Or have ye not read in

Rom.14:14,

"I know and am persuaded in
the Lord Jesus that nothing is
unclean of itself", unless I re-
gard it so. v.20, "All things
indeed are clean; howbeit, it is
evil for that man who eateth with
offence."

the law that on the sabbath
day the priests in the temple

profane the sabbath and are
guiltless?"

Mk.7:15,

"There is nothing from
without the man that going in-
evil for that man who eateth with
things which proceed out of
the man are those that defile
him." Also vv.18 and 20 ff.

In these passages is found first the thought that the
worth of the sabbath is found not in the day itself, but in
the attitude of the mind toward it, that it is a means and not
an end and that "als göttliche Institution kann der Sabbath un-
möglich das Wohlthun verhindern". (Glock, Die Gesetzesfrage,
usw., s.24) This is followed by another non-Jewish idea that
ethical uncleanness is not a quality of things, but of the
inner life and it seems highly probable that Paul here in his
departure from the Jewish law had the example and teaching of
Jesus fully in mind. This is quite clearly shown in his "in
the Lord Jesus". The principle that somewhat subsumes these
is found in:

Gal.5:14,

"For the whole law is fulfilled
in one word, x Thou shalt love
thy neighbor as thyself."

Mk.12:31,

"The second is this,
Thou shalt love thy neighbor
as thyself." - the greatest
commandment.

These passages might go back to a common source (Lev.19:18) but their agreement speaks for a measure of influence upon Paul. The principle involved in all these passages is that love which fulfills the law is greater, and may lead to the breaking of the letter to fulfil the spirit, as in Lk.6:4, as given by D, and regarded by Alford and Sturm as genuine. That freedom from the law belongs to those who recognise the requirements of love is a great principle taught here by Jesus and Paul and neither learned it from the Jews.

Rom.12:17a,

Mt.5:39,

"Render to no man evil for evil". v.21, "overcome evil with good." I Cor.1:7b,

"but I say unto you, resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on

"Why not rather take wrong? Why not rather be defrauded?" - than to have lawsuits.

There is no verbal similarity here, but the principle involved was very near the heart of Jesus' teaching. The identity of thought in independent phraseology is what is to be expected from a great spirit who has reflected on the mind of a greater.

The contradiction between knowing or teaching the law on one hand and not doing it on the other is condemned with equal spirit and in similar ways by both (Rom.2:13 ff., and Mk.7:9-13 and Mt.23). Jesus never so completely condemns the law as does Paul, but the Apostle never scathed the law more severely than does Jesus the "lawyer" in the last named chapter. When Jesus opposes the law, it is because it has led its followers to substitute externalism for inwardness in both morals and re-

ligion and that has resulted in a heartless and loveless self-righteousness. Jesus charged that a result of their interpretation of the law was an increase of sin. Paul contended, what was in final effect the same, that sin and its stimulation was the purpose of the law (Rom. 7:13, 5:20, "that the trespass might abound.")

Whence came Paul's thought of the inadequacy of the law? Did it come before or after his sense of the power of Christ? "Either - or" has too much expressed the debate at this point. Much more natural and in accord with Paul's words it is to regard them as playing into each other. His account of the law can be largely regarded as "ideal biography", in so far as it brought knowledge of sin, (Rom. 3:20), caused sin to increase, produced a moral stupor in him (Rom. 7:10), and rested upon a theory that he could do it, which because of the evil impulses within him which it left unchanged, was quite impossible (Rom. 7:13 ff.). With allowance for his reading his later insight into his pre-Christian experience, he must have felt that the religion of the law was a failure. It led to routine, externalism, and lacked inner driving power. Salvation can not be earned and a religion should impel and not compel, as did the law. He heard the story of Jesus. With a perception keen beyond that of contemporary Christians as to its significance for Judaism, stirred by his observation of Stephen and other Christians, he was made a persecutor and at the same time prepared for his Damascus-road upheaval. Hatred fed by the fear that one is on the losing side plus religious zeal has often led to murder for the glory of God. Hence the genesis of Paul's thought here

was experience and the observation of the power and influence of the Nazarene whose story he had heard.. It was not so much the product of speculation, as it was of the compulsion of facts without and within.

If something like this was the course Paul's thought took, it would be wholly unnatural not to find features in it that show little or no contact with Jesus and it can not be denied that such do exist. If however the agreements are so great, why has he not quoted Jesus' authority more frequently? He did quote it with reference to divorce (p.65) in I Cor.7:10. Why was not such an appeal made in the Jerusalem council? It is even more significant that his opponents made no such an appeal and Moe thinks both sides felt they were in harmony with Jesus, but without decisive argument against the other. "Im Prinzip erscheint Jesus, als derjenige, der mit dem Schranken des alten Bundes gebrochen hat; aber in concreto verhält er sich zu der Ordnungen des Alten Testaments wesentlich konservativ." (Paulus und die evangelische Geschichte, s.189) Jesus' observance of the law and yet his freedom from it, unified in his own consciousness, preserved themselves in two currents in the early church. Paul, too, has his apparently ambiguous attitude toward the law, for even though it is cancelled, he appeals to it as authority (I Cor.9:9 and Gal.3:13) and is convinced that the law must be satisfied in the new order.

With a quotation from Jesus with reference to the law (p.65), other verbal similarities, and often identical points of view, it would seem that the only question as to his orical dependence here could be its extent, even though Wrede, Meyer

and others deny it. Paul had to face hosts of converted Gentiles and so had to treat the question as Jesus was never obliged to do. For both the law had lost its absolute character and they treated it freely. Both stressed the love of God as the beneficent source of what the law had tried to give and both taught that the gospel was not a patch to be sewed on an old garment. Finally both possessed in their teaching the universalism (Rom. 3:29 and Mt. 8:11 and 12) and the thought of the autonomy of the new faith which killed the law.

(6) Soteriology. Paul's view of salvation had earlier found its center and circumference in the law. It has been noted that through his experience with it and what he learned and saw about Jesus and the power of his lived and spoken message, he had become convinced of its impotence and inadequacy. How may righteousness be secured? Paul came to see there was just one way. Rom. 2:21b, "for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for naught", and I Cor. 2:2, "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." Jewish Christians added the law as a means, but Paul rejected the addition. Has his view any relation to that of Jesus? Wrede thought there was none whatever. Denney contends that this is not Paulinist, but the Christianity of Christ.

(The Death of Christ) Goguel thinks Jesus grounded the pardon of sin on the infinite love of God, while Paul based it on expiation by the death of Jesus. "Il est difficile d'imaginer deux theories plus radicalement differentes", but it is false to suppose Paul conscious of a break. (L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ.p.330)

Did Jesus ever think of himself as in any way related to the salvation of men? Did he ever require that men should take any definite attitude toward him? The incompleteness of our tradition must be reckoned with here, but while he seems to have left the impression that he did so regard himself, he evidently said little or nothing about it, so far as our records are concerned. Some of the evidence that he regarded himself as more than mere man has been reviewed. (p.81). Two of the greatest passages for this thought on the part of Jesus are:

Mk.10:45,

Isa.53:12,

καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἵνα οὐκ ἴλθῃ διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ψυχῶν, - v.11,
 διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες πολλοὺς.
 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. (From the Septuagint)

Mk.14:24,

"And he said unto them, The connection between this τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διακονῆς and I Cor.11:25 has been shown, p.68f.

λῶν. The word, λύτρον, has been the cause of much controversy and some have claimed the idea came into the gospels from Paul, but that is now asserted less confidently than formerly, even though Paul reflects the thought in almost every chapter of his epistles. It existed before Paul's day, however, so he did not originate but found it (I Cor.15:3). The above parallels between Mk.10:45 and Isa.53 throw light on the source of the former, Who are the πολλοὶ of Mk. 10:45 and 14:24? If there is a reference here to Isa.53, it is a little more intelligible.

In Isa.53, $\lambdaύτρον$ is not found, though the idea is essentially present, and if it is omitted from Mk.10:45, the sense is only very slightly affected, if at all. These facts together with the Marcan context suggest that neither $\lambdaύτρον$ nor $πολλάν$ is the point of the verse, but much more either $δοῦναι$ or $δυνασθῆναι$, an idea often on Jesus' lips. From the above parallel it also follows that if Jesus had not identified himself with the suffering Servant of Jehovah, it was his spiritual possession. Lk.4:17f. , (Isa.61:1 and 2) and Mk.11:17 (Isa.56:7) show that Paul was not the first to see that the path to glory leads through suffering. Jesus had taught that the way of giving, suffering, even death, apparently losing, was the way to life and victory and the conception was alien to Jewish thought. Mk. 8:35 "Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. Bacon holds that the synoptics do not grant a large enough place to this thought in the message of Jesus (The Gospel Paul "Received", American Journal of Theology, Jan.'17). Jesus' conception of salvation as the giving of a life of love and obedience to the will of God is the very heart of Paul's gospel. The death of Jesus for the sin of men often seems fundamental in Paul's thought, but again and again he gives ground for the belief that that was but a single step in the process, significant because it caught up and expressed at its highest the spirit of a life of love and obedience. Gal.2:20 "the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me", II Cor.5:14, "For the love of Christ constraineth us" to a life of unselfish service, and Phil.2:8, "becoming obedient even unto death", all imply something more than the one act of death which mani-

fested these attributes. The death gained its significance largely from the spirit of the life. That Peter and Paul should so early with the rest preach the cross on which rested a curse, declare that a crucified fellow-Jew had died for their sins is intelligible only on the basis of an impression of a life of love and suffering for others whose welfare was his whole concern, and of words spoken to the effect that he was most interested in saving men's souls. He claimed the right to forgive sins and that with his submission to the will of God from childhood furnished in good measure the basis of the thought of his final sacrifice.

In their thought about redemption or salvation there are a number of similarities. Mk.10:15,

Ephes.2:8,

"Whosoever shall not re-

"for by grace have ye
been saved through faith."

ceive the kingdom as a little
child, etc." Lk.12:32,

"For it is your Father's
good pleasure to give you the
kingdom."

Paul had learned, Rom.2 and 7, that salvation can not be earned and so was prepared for the thought of Jesus, that it is a gift. That principle of Jesus that one is accepted not because of what one is or has done, but because of the mercy of God (Lk.17:10), Paul followed completely, as is evident in Rom.3:24,11:5-6, and I Cor.15:10 and other passages. Faith as a requisite for salvation both emphasize. Rom.10:9, "because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord and

shalt believe in thy heart ~~xx~~ thou shalt be saved", reflects but a development of Lk.7:50, "And he said unto the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee". In neither case is it the theocretical acceptance of the facts of salvation, as Wrede states, but rather denotes the faculty of receptivity coupled with a sense of need. Many think Jesus never required faith in himself as a condition for salvation, but the evidence does not permit a dogmatic statement and Jas.Moffatt asks, "Must we not affirm that Jesus did regard men as being under an eternal obligation to himself in the matter of their relation to the Father and that therefore Paul's steadfast grip of this truth was a genetic development of the original gospel"? He believes the question may be answered affirmatively. (Paul and Jesus, Biblical World, 32:173)

Paul expressed the possibilities of faith in words Jesus used: I Cor.13:2b, Mk.11:23,

"And if I have all faith,	"Whosoever shall say unto
so as to remove mountains,	this mountain, Be thou taken up
but have not love, I am nothing."	and cast into the sea; and shall
	not doubt in his heart, but
	shall believe xx he shall have it!"

In writing the Romans he presupposes the same view of faith he had given his own churches and so is evidently in agreement with tradition.

Rom.3:24,

Lk.13:11,

"being justified freely
by his grace through the re-
demption that is in Christ

"I say unto you, This man
went down to his house justified
rather than the other."

Jesus." Eph. 1:7.

Justification is a Jewish idea, but as the Lucan basis for Paul's thought makes no reference to faith and works directly, its genuineness is not so much subject to suspicion, even though it seems from neither Mark nor the Logia. Redemption is a Greek idea related to the thought of Mk. 10:45. (See Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, '08, s. 232f.) The importance of confession and the agreement of Jesus and Paul with reference to it has been cited, p. 80. A prime requisite for both was repentance, for only the righteous could inherit the kingdom. Bacon seems to think that different words necessarily mean different ideas, that Paul never preaches repentance (The Gospel Paul 'Received', *American Journal of Theology*, Jan. '17, but Paul's *καταλλαγή*, Rom. 5:11 and II Cor. 5:18, and the *παράνομι* of Jesus are essentially equivalent. All men were not prodigals to Jesus (Rom. 5:12), but both held that all need divine redemption.

That there are distinct differences between the soteriological thought of Jesus and Paul must be admitted unless it be that Paul is as near or nearer the thought of Jesus than the Palestinian synoptic tradition. Jesus never concerned himself with the question theoretically, as did Paul and this accounts for many of their differences, in the thought of Goguel (*L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ*, p. 110) and of Heinrich (Jesus und Paulus, col. 213). His thought of the death of Jesus as an offering or atonement was essentially a Jewish idea and the carrier here has too often received more attention than the cargo. "C'est des pharisiens, par l'intermédiaire de Paul, que nous tenons les idées de justice, de jugement, de justification, de condamnation,

etc., qui viennent tout se placer dans la piété et dans la théologie chrétiennes." (Goguel, L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus Christ, p. 3) Pharisean, however, never gave him his materials. Jewish theology never gave him the idea of a Messiah who was either to die for men's sins or to incarnate God's love and grace. Jesus in his spoken word and still more in his marvelous, lived life was the magnet which drew many things to him that were not originally part of him, the starting point for the thought of the great apostle, who did not copy or follow slavishly, but brooded over the tradition, the "mind" of his Lord and then placed his own stamp ineffaceably upon the product. More significant by much than the verbal similarities is the greater harmony in the inner spirit. As Weizsäcker puts it, "the new wine was contained in the old bottles" (The Apostolic Age, p. 151), but in the face of this evidence, what reason is there for not taking Paul's word at its face value? I Cor. 15:3, "For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received: that Christ died for our sins." "According to the scriptures" is something of an enigma here, for what Paul could have had in mind is unknown. However that word does not affect the fact that "Christ died for our sins" is not a product of Jewish Messianic belief, is part of an early 'received' tradition, and has its basis in a figure, not of theological speculation, but of flesh and blood history, Jesus of Nazareth. In view of these facts and the consciousness of the early Church, we thought that Paul here drew largely, even though indirectly, from Jesus is the most probable and illuminating.

(7) Institutional aspects. Paul's words about the church can not be related to Jesus, for it is not certain that he ever

said anything about such an institution. Preparations for such an organization are implied in his selection of disciples and in the instructions he gave them. Paul sees the proof of his apostolate in the success of his work, I Cor.9:1 and 2, "are not ye my work in the Lord?" and "the seal of mine apostolatehip are ye." Also Gal.2:7ff. This and the signs of an apostle to which he refers in II Cor.12:12 and Rom.15:13 and 19, "signs and wonders in the power of the Holy Spirit", recall Mk.3:14f., and 6:7 and 13 with their words about preaching, healing and casting out demons. Three words, found in Mt., spoken to the apostles as they were sent out, Paul seems to echo:

Rom.16:19b,

"But I would have you
Wise unto that which is good
and simple unto that which
is evil."

Mt.10:16b,

"Be ye therefore wise
as serpents, and harmless
as doves."

Both Paul and the synoptic writer use ἀκέραιος, simple, innocent, or guileless and the former's σοφός is essentially a synonym of φρόνιμος, used by the latter, and both convey the thought of skill and prudence. The relationship here is so close as to be conclusive for dependence or a common source.

Then the fundamental instructions given the apostle by Jesus are really to be found in Paul's writings. Their right to support, I Cor.9:14, has been discussed. Mt.10:24, "A disciple is not above his teacher, nor a servant above his lord", often appears in some form (I Cor.15:31, II Cor.1:5, 11:23f., and Gal.3:17 among other usages).

Gal.1:10,

"Ye received me as an
angel of God, even as Christ
Jesus."

Mt.13:10a,

"He that receiveth you
receiveth me."

The thought here is identical and relates to other words of Jesus to the effect that a rejection of his messengers would mean his rejection as well.

Still further does Jesus move toward an institution when he gives a disciplinary regulation which, while like the above passages is found only in Matthew, is apparently known to Paul.

II Cor.13:1b, "ἐνὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθίρεται πᾶν ῥῆμα", appears essentially word for word in Mt.18:16, ^{the force of} but the identical phraseology is materially lessened by the fact that both probably rest on Deut.19:15, "at the mouth of two witnesses or at the mouth of three witnesses shall a matter be established."

II Th.3:6,

"Now we command you,
brethren, in the name of our
Lord Jesus Christ that ye with-
draw yourselves from every bro-
ther that walketh disorderly,
and not after the tradition
which they received from us."

Mt.18:17b,

"And if he refuse to hear
the church also, let him be
unto thee as the Gentile and
the publican."

The thought here is identical and by his use of "the name of our Lord Jesus Christ", Paul seems to be consciously using the authority of Christ. He has taken an injunction given the Jews, "treat as a heathen or a taxgatherer" and generalized it

for Gentile use into "avoid the irregular brother". That conclusion both reach only after every attempt to secure the offender's repentance has been made. If doubt should be thrown on the genuineness of these words, since they are transmitted by Matthew only and might be the product of later church needs, they are still a part of very early tradition and are a monument to Paul's interest in and organic relation to that earlier Christianity.

There is no clear evidence that Jesus ever baptized. John, after stating in 3:22 and 26 that he did, contradicts it in 4:1 and 2. Whatever he did, it is clear that he felt men's adherence to him was more important. Paul was not anxious to baptize. I Cor. 1:14, "I thank God that I baptized none of you, save Crispus and Gaius", and v. 17, "For Christ sent me not to baptize." Neither then thought it essential, the sine qua non of the spiritual life or of salvation, but it does not follow that either thought it unimportant, for both were baptized (Mk. 1:9 and Acts 9:18). To find an allusion to Jesus' baptism in II Cor. 1:21, as does Woe, is to appear to be determined to find it in Paul's writings, but anyhow the apostle likely supported it from the authority of Jesus, though he never calls it an ordinance of Jesus. Rom. 6:3, among other passages, "or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus", shows that Paul presupposed its existence in churches not founded by him. Gal. 3:27, "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ", is evidence that he thought that not baptism, but the union it represented was important, in which he doubtless agreed with Jesus and the apostles. The primitive church followed not a requirement, but the example of Jesus and so it came

to Paul.

As Jesus neither required nor instituted baptism, so did he not the Lord's Supper in all probability. If Paul made the latter more a memorial of Jesus' death, by adding to the accounts of Mk. and Mt., "Do this in remembrance of me", it was because he found it already a part of the regular religious worship. The relation of Paul's account historically to the synoptic account has been discussed (p. 677.), so need not be entered into here. Paul doubtless thought of it only as a memorial rite, but as more than that-- a bond between God and his worshippers somewhat analogous to the Old Testament view of feasts (Cor. 10:16-20), but with reference to that we have no teaching from Jesus. To Paul the thought that the elements brought about a real connection between men and spirits or God did not contain the difficulties it has for us and it doubtless never occurred to him or the early Christians that there was any difference between their view of it and that of Jesus.

(8) Ethics. Between religion and morality there is the closest connection between Jesus and Paul, so apparent that a superficial reading of them will often reveal it. The great principle in the ethics of both is love and almost everything they teach may be deduced from it. Some of their outstanding teaching on the character and importance of love follow:

Gal. 5:14, (Rom. 13:9-10)

Mk. 12:31, .

"For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

"The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

These commandments are found in Lev.19:18, but more in the form of a compelling legal requirement than in that of an impelling spiritual ideal. Jesus relates them to the heart and conscience as well as to the conduct of men and Paul similarly in Rom.13:9f. states that we must not only pay, but love our neighbor, which, as always in the case of Jesus, goes to the springs of moral conduct.

Rom.12:9,

"Let love be without hypocrisy. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good."

Mk.7:6f.,

"Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoreth me with their lips, But their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me."

Love must be sincere, unfeigned and it is natural to relate ἀνυπόκριτος to some saying of Jesus about the hypocrites. This verse is characteristically Christian and love as a moral principle, like Jesus, its only perfect example, neither blurs moral distinctions nor condones evil.. The Marcan passage in its sketch of hypocritical love suggests its supremacy, a favorite theme to both Jesus and Paul. Even worship is worthless without it.

I Cor.13:1-3,

"If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love I am as a clanging cymbal. And if I have the gift of prophecy and know all xx, but have not

Mt.5:23f.,

"If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy

love, I am nothing. And if
I bestow all my goods to feed
the poor, and if I give my body
to be burned, but have not love,
it profiteth me nothing."

brother and then come and offer
thy gift."

6:2, "When therefore thou
doest alms, sound not a trumpet
before thee, as the hypocrites
do in the synagogues and in the
streets, that they may have
glory of men."

Righteousness is the great element of religion and the
ethical is the test of the spiritual. Duty to fellowman must be
done before worship is acceptable to Jesus. Love it is that lends
worth to natural gifts as well as worship and giving without it
is not meritorious. Without verbal agreement such emphasis upon
love's supremacy could not be more similarly expressed.

Rom.12:14

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας εὐ-
λογεῖτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ ἔσθθε.

v.20, "But if thine enemy
hunger, feed him; if he thirst,
give him to drink: for in so
doing thou shalt heap coals of
fire upon his head."

Luke6:28

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρμένους
ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐμμε-
χζόντων ὑμᾶς.

Mt.5:44,

"But I say unto you, Love
your enemies and pray for them
that persecute you." Lk.6:27.

The similarity in the first two parallel passages runs even
to vocabulary in the use of εὐλογεῖν and καταρλόματι. The synop-
tic passages are not quoted, to be sure, but a recollection of them
may be present. Denney (Expositor's Greek Testament, ad loc.)
says, "The change in construction from a participle (preceding

verse) to the imperative, the participle being resumed in the next sentence, suggests that the form of the sentence was given to Paul - i.e. he was consciously using borrowed words without modifying them to suit the sentence he had begun on his own account. The thought of the verses is too non-Jewish to account for the similarity on a Jewish basis. In v.20 Paul gives expression to a rather narrower view of love for enemies than was that of Jesus, unless the purpose expressed is regarded as the result.

Ephes.4:32,

Mt.5:43,

"And be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving each other even as God also in Christ forgave you." 5:2.

The ⁱⁿ⁻discriminating love of the Father, as shown in his treatment of the evil and the good, lies at the base of Eph.4:32 and 5:2. Both Paul and Jesus agree that the moral perfection of God, the ideal of the believer, lies in the Father's love of Son, the thought of the context in Matthew.

Closely related to the above is the thought of love as a motive in conduct and attitude, illustrated as follows:

Col.3:13,

Mk.11:25,

"Forbearing one another and forgiving each other, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye."

"And whosoever ye stand praying, forgive if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also who is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses."

I Cor.6:7b,

"Why not rather take
wrong? Why not rather be de-
frauded?" In opposition to
lawsuits.

Rom.12:17a, (I Th.5:15)

"Render to no man evil
for evil."
21, "Be not overcome of evil,
but overcome evil with good."

Mt.5:39f.,

"but I say unto you, Re-
sist not him that is evil: but
whosoever smiteth thee on thy
right cheek, turn to him the
other also. And if any man
would go to law with thee, and
take away thy coat, let him have
thy cloak also."

The similarity of these passages is so obvious that com-
ment is superfluous and they are alike so opposed to the Jewish
thought of retaliation and revenge that they must be regarded
as characteristically Christian. The chief difference is that
Paul here, as often, generalizes the specific.

Paul and Jesus are as much in accord in the way they
stress social responsibility.

Gal.5:1,

"Brethren, even if a man
be overtaken in any trespass,
ye who are spiritual, restore
such a one in a spirit of gen-
tleness; looking to thyself,
lest thou also be tempted."

Mt.18:15,

"And if thy brother sin
against thee, go, show him his
fault between thee and him alone:
if he hear thee, thou hast gain-
ed thy brother."

There is no verbal likeness here, but the agreement as to
the responsibility to be felt for others in their shortcomings
and the obligation to restore them, if it be possible, is
complete.

I Cor.3:11-13,

"For through thy know-
ledge he that is weak perish-
eth, the brother for whose
sake Christ died. And thus,
sinning against the brethren
and wounding their conscience
when it is weak, ye sin against
Christ. Wherefore, if meat
causeth my brother to stumble,
I will eat no flesh forever-
more."

Rom.14:21b,

"But judge ye this rather,
that no man put a stumbling-
block in his brother's way,
or an occasion of falling."
I Cor.3:9,10:24.

1K.9:37a,

"Whoever shall receive one
of such little children in my
name, receiveth me."

Mt.23:40,

"And the King shall answer
and say unto them xx Inasmuch as
ye did it unto one of these my
brethren, even these least, ye
did it unto me."

Mk.9:42,

"And whoever shall cause
one of these little ones that
believe on me to stumble, it
were better for him if a great
millstone were hanged about his
neck, and he were cast into the
sea."

Both Jesus and Paul deal frequently and in a very serious
way with whatever is a σκάνδαλον, a snare or a stumbling block
to others. Phraseology differs, but the thought and the spirit
not of rules, but of great principles, is the same. To both the
law of personal liberty is limited by the law of love for the
brethren and for the weaker especially. They agree not only that
there are rights that we must forego for the sake of others
(II Th.3:7-9), but that what is entirely lawful may not always
be expedient:

I Cor.6:12,

Mt.17:26f.,

"All things are lawful
for me; but not all things
are expedient."

"Therefore the Jews are free.
But lest we cause them to stum-
ble, go thou to the sea, and
cast a hook".

A similar idea with reference to society as well as to
individuals is found in Paul's writings also, Phil.2:14f.,
"Do all things without murmurings and questionings; that ye may
become blameless and harmless." That the Christian should give
no offence to society is still somewhat extended:

Rom.13:1,

Mk.10:42,

"Let every soul be in
subjection to the high^{-er} powers:
for there is no power but of
God; and the powers that be
are ordained of God."

"Ye know that the rulers of
the Gentiles lord it over them,
and their great ones exercise
authority over them."

Mk.12:17,

v.7, "Render to all their dues:
tribute to whom tribute is due; Render therefore unto Ceasar the
custom to whom custom; fear to things that are Ceasar's; and
whom fear; honor to whom honor." unto God the things that are
God's."

Between Rom.13:1 and Mk.10:42 appears an evident contrast
between Paul and Jesus. The latter used the idea of worldly
kingdoms as a vehicle for his thought of the spiritual kingdom,
but kept the two entirely separate. To him the average ruler
is a tyrant, morally not worthy of respect. The conception of
the divine right of kings gets cool comfort from Jesus, but
not so much can be said for Paul. Rulers are God's servants
and derive their power from God. Paul is a Roman citizen with

his love for order, while the patriotism of Jesus is of a less conventional type. This paragraph of Paul's may have been occasioned by a situation similar to that created by the view of the "fourth philosophy" (Josephus) in Jesus' day - that it was not right to have any king but God. In Rom.13:7 and Mk. 12:17 the same idea to the use of leads to the conviction that Paul may have had these words of Jesus clearly in mind. However Denney is hardly correct in asserting that Paul says nothing in this passage not already given or implied by words of our Lord. (Expositor's Greek Testament, ad loc.)

A number of passages that indicate ethical similarities in the teachings of Paul and Jesus have been previously discussed. Among them are: the quotation on divorce which Paul uses in I Cor.7:10 and 11, p. 65; his allusion in Rom.13:19 to the instructions Jesus gave the disciples in Mt. 10:16, p.97; and his reference to the ethical conception of clean and unclean, Mk.7:15, in Rom.14:14,17, I Cor.8:, and Gal.5:6, p.86.

I Th.5:22,

Mt.5:8,

"Abstain from every form
of evil."

"Blessed are the pure in
heart: for they shall see God."

Just as complete as their agreement in this general moral standard is that between their ideals in detail. The lists of specified evils in Mk.7:21-22 and parallels, and those of I Cor. 6:9-10 and Gal.5:19-21 are essentially the same and both Jesus and Paul agree in not recognizing the modern and somewhat Jewish distinction between sin and crime.

Col.3:5, (Rom.8:13)

Mt.5:29,

(Mk.9:43 and 45)

"Put to death (νεκρώσει)

"And if thy right eye causeth

therefore your members (μέλη) which are upon the earth: fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry."

thee to stumble, pluck it out and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members (μέλην) should perish (ἀπόληται), and not thy whole body be cast into hell."

The similarity here extends to the use of μέλος in both and ναυρώμε putting to death the members of the body is clearly equivalent to ἀπόληται. Paul's words here are a generalization of those of Jesus and more striking than the verbal is the inner connection they reflect.

Some words they have in common about giving:

II Cor.8:12,

Lk.12:43,

"For if the readiness is there, it is acceptable according as a man hath, not according as he hath not." 9:7, "Let each man be according as he hath purposed in his heart: not grudgingly or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver." Rom.12:8.

"Verily I say unto you, This poor widow cast more than all they that are casting into the treasury; for they all did cast in of their superfluity; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living." Mt.5:42.

The common element here is not phraseology, but idea. Both Paul and Jesus emphasize that there must be a relation between what one gives and what one has, and that more important than the amount given is the spirit in which it is given. The idea was doubtless common to the Jews, but the latter was alien to them and an application of a principle to which Jesus always came.

The Jews were interested primarily in conduct, but the dominant concern here is more in the invisible sources of conduct.

Dependence in this seems both plausible and probable.

Rom.2:1,

Mt.7:1f.,

"Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for where-in thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, for thou that judgest dost practice the same things."

14:13a, "Let us not therefore judge one another any more."vv.3,4,10-12.

"Judge not that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you."

Both Paul and the evangelist here use *κρίνω* which has no necessarily adverse or disparaging connotation. It means "have an opinion", "determine", or "estimate" and may mean "approve". Paul intensifies what Matthew says by stating that in judging another one condemns himself. *κατακρίνω* originally meant to "condemn" or judge adversely and something of that idea probably still remains, though it is not unlikely that like many compounds the word has somewhat weakened and so the difference between Paul and Matthew is less than appears at first thought. Not only are these verses strikingly similar, but they are essentially non-Jewish, for the law necessitates judging. However the right and obligation of free individual judgment is supported by both:

Col.2:16,

Lk.12:11,

"Let no man therefore

"But he said unto him, Man,

judge you in seat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a sabbath day."

Rom.12:3, "For I say, through the grace that was given me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think", reflects in the abstract the parable of the chief seats at the marriage feast of Lk.14:8-11 that closes with the words, "For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

Phil.3:7, "Notwithstanding what things were gain to me, those have I counted loss for Christ", reflects a similar principle to that of Mt.10:35, "For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it." This thought of gaining one's life by losing it was not a familiar one among either the Jews or the Greeks.

A few other verses are prominent among those having some bearing on the relation of Paul to Jesus ethically. Gal.6:2, "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." The expression presupposes on the part of the readers an idea of the content of the law of Christ, whatever that may be. Some have thought it the total teaching of Jesus; others, some maxim which Jesus gave his spirit in a phrase. No concise statement meets such requirements better than Jesus' word as to the greatest commandment, Mt.22:36-41, and it fits admirably into the Galatian context. Ephes.4:32, "But ye all must so learn Christ", and the context implies instruction about Jesus' life which is held up as the example of perfect moral life. Similar seems the

word of $\delta\iota\alpha$ in I Cor.14:17, " $\delta\iota\alpha$ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ", though it may refer to his teaching rather than his example. The nearest Paul comes to urging that possessions be sold is in I Cor.13:5, but he had to deal with very rich people, and took the position, quite in the spirit of Jesus, that poverty is not necessary, that one should be inwardly free from possessions. I Cor.7:30 and 31.

Closely related to their ethical thought is the idea Jesus and Paul had of sin. To Jesus it was simply a concrete reality of experience. Paul said more of its nature and origin, though the latter, especially, plays a relatively trivial role in his epistles and was not in any case contradictory to the position of Jesus. They agreed as to its reality, its hold on human life, that it is the transgression of the will of God, and that it results in separation from Him.

The ethics of Jesus and Paul are too similar to be the product of chance. A good summary of many of the principles of Jesus stands in I Cor.13:24-33. Both require the pure heart and walk, and love to one's neighbor. Both express man's highest good in terms of the more abundant life. In both the essential conceptions of religion are being silently shifted from the category of time ("now" and "then") into that of quality ("earthly" and "spiritual"). (Scott, Jesus and Paul in Cambridge Biblical Essays, p.211.) Paul's thought of love for others and the impulse that moved his life, his sense of obligation to aliens were received from Jesus. Both throughout held being to be deeper than doing. Everywhere is the spirit of Jesus, but again and again attention has been called to the fact that the most

striking similarities by which have been those, not of word, but of idea and spirit.

(9) Eschatology. In comparing the eschatology of Paul and Jesus the most striking passage (I Th. 4:13ff.) has been discussed (p. 62.). In it Paul quoted some word of Jesus and so definitely appealed to his authority for the view he set forth. Its age makes it as good evidence as we possess that Jesus gave some eschatological teaching and that that presented in the synoptics is not all brought in from current conceptions of the time. However the amount of contact these passages have with late Judaistic literature, the Apocalypses of Ezra, for example, among others, renders this theme less valuable for the present investigation. Together with the doubt thrown on how much Jesus actually said, the probability that Paul and Jesus, to some extent, drew on these common sources must be reckoned with. In the discussion of the teaching about the kingdom, it has been pointed out that both regarded it as beginning in the present but reaching its consummation in the future (p. 72f.). It is a great tribute to the power that went out from Jesus, if he did not give expression to these views, that current eschatological hopes were so largely attracted to his person. In any case it is unfeebly due to him that in uniting the present and the future, we have the consequent union of the eschatological and the moral-religious. Apart from a few verses the comparisons will be made rather in important phrases.

I Th. 5:2,

Mt. 24:43,

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἶδότε ὅτι "If the master of the house had
ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου ὃς κλέπτει ἐν known in what season
νυκτὶ οὐκ ὄφθαι ἐρχεται. he would have watched."

ἡμεῖς οὖν clearly refers to the teaching Paul had given them, probably his own expression of the teaching of Jesus. ἀκούσας ἐρχεται appears in both passages, but more striking is the harmony of this verse of Paul's with the general teaching of Jesus on this point. This verse and still more the following passage prepared for a postponement of the Parousia in the thought of the early Christians.

II Th.2:1-3,

Lk.21:9,

"touching the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and our gathering- wars and tumults, be not terrifying together unto him; to the end fled: For these things must needs that ye be not quickly shaken come to pass first, but the end from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit or by word, or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is at hand; xx for it will not be, except the falling away come first." ITh.5:6, Mk.13:33,

"So then let us not sleep as the rest, but let us watch and be sober." "Take ye heed, watch and pray; for ye know not when the time is."

In these passages Kennedy thinks Paul takes his stand on the teaching of Jesus. (St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things, p.191f.) Among other possible echoes of Jesus are: the Lord with his angels (Mk.8:33, Mt.16:27 and 25:31) in II Th.1:7; the sign of the Son of man (Mt.24:30) is specified as fire in II Th.1:7f; the embodiment of ἀνομία in II Th.2:3,3 and 9 is a possible generalization of the pseudo Christs of Mk.13:22; and as in the

synoptics, the Parousia or coming of Jesus is to be visible. In the sayings of Jesus there are words that indicate the kingdom was to come soon (Mk.1:15), spoken apparently at the close of his activity (Mt.26:24) and such an impression Paul had clearly given the Thessalonians. In both there is the same strange insistence on the end as at hand and on the present as likely to continue.

While Paul quotes Jesus in I Th,4:15ff., in support of a resurrection and often himself argues for it, the material given us for it in the synoptics is slight. However, Mk.12:25, "For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven", and Mt.12:41, "The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment", furnish Paul not a little support for his extended argument in I Cor.15:12-58. Much the same points of view, as Paul reflects in this passage, appear in Mk.12:24-27, the truth of the resurrection and the changed body. They probably agree in thinking the resurrection as neither fleshly or bodily, nor as purely spiritual, but as consisting of heavenly or angelic bodies.

In the picture of the judgment given, the judge is now God (Mt.10:32f) and now Jesus (Mt.25:32f) and so it is in Paul (Rom. 8:3f and 16, and II Cor.5:10). Mt.7:22f., 13:41f., and 25:32f. indicate that Jesus made emphatic claims that he was to be the judge of men. Kennedy adds (ibid), "There was nothing to correspond to it in Judaism". This and the general resurrection implied in Mt.12:41 are two points that call for something more than a common Jewish background as an explanation. So in the following passages:

Rom.2:6,

Mt.16:27,

τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἀποδώσει ἕκαστῳ.

"For the Son of man shall come

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

in the glory of his Father with

II Cor.5:10, "before the judgment seat of Christ."

his angels; καὶ τότε καθίστης ἐκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἀπόβλην αὐτοῦ.

The striking agreement here may be accounted for by Prov. 24:12, save that here Christ exercises the function of judge. Similar in thought is Rom.14:12 and Mt.12:36. If the synoptic records furnish us anything like a genuine account of Jesus' message on this theme, there is considerable probability of a relationship between him and Paul and in any case the latter's unity with the primitive church is unmistakable.

(10) Miscellaneous. Six passages, difficult to classify elsewhere, remain to be noticed for what they reflect of possible points of contact between Paul and Jesus.

II Cor.5:1,

Lk.14:58,

"For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

"We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands."

Paul has used the Marcan thought and both use ἀχειροποίητον, a word found neither in profane writings nor in the Septuagint (Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon) and so a mark of presence in the tradition that reached both Paul and Mark.

I Cor.3:10, "According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I laid a foundation, and another buildeth thereon." Resch (Texte und Untersuchungen X, s.193) holds that Paul's σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων is equivalent to the

ἄνθρωπος πρόνομος of Mt.7:21 and θεμέλιος is equivalent to Jesus Christ.

I Cor.5:4,

Mt.18:20,

ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συν-
 συνάχθεντες ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ηγγεμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ
 πνεύματος τὸν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ.

These passages with their use of συνάγω and ὄνομα, their two key words, reflect such complete similarity that nothing short of acquaintance with a written source of Mark or a very definite knowledge of that tradition is adequate.

Phil.1:18,

Mk.9:10,

"What then? Only that in "For he that is not against
 every way, whether in pre- us is for us."
 tence or in truth, Christ is
 proclaimed."

There is no verbal agreement here, but Paul's statement is an illustration of the Marcan principle.

I Cor.10:27,

Lk.10:8,

"Whatsoever is set before "And into whatsoever city ye
 you, eat, asking no question enter, and they receive you, eat
 for conscience' sake." such things as are set before you.

Paul's word was written with reference to eating meats that had been offered to idols, while that of Jesus was given to his disciples when they were sent out on their mission, so there is here a different application of exactly the same principle.

I Cor.4:12,

Mt.5:11,

"being reviled, we bless; "Blessed are ye when men shall
 being persecuted, we endure; reproach you, and persecute you,

being defamed, we en-
treat:"

and say all manner of evil
against you falsely."

Paul narrates his experiences in the same general terms and in the same order in which they appear in the Sermon on the Mount. While that might be accidental, it could just as well be the result of familiarity with the tradition.

Last, but by no means least, is the very important bearing of Paul's use of certain Aram^aic words in his epistles upon this problem. Not only "amen", but "maranatha" (I Cor.16:22) are doubtless liturgical words, used in Judea and introduced by Paul into his Gentile churches. "Die blendende These, Paulus sei der eigentliche Stifter des Christentums, zerschellt an den Granit der Aramäischen Hieroglyphen Maranatha." (Deissmann, Die Urgeschichte des Christentums im Lichte der Sprachforschung, s.85ff.) Then "Abba, Father" (Gal.3:6, Rom.8:15, and Mk.14:36) is most certainly a formula from the primitive ritual. The double form is not so much for the translation of the Aram^aic as for the preservation of the word Jesus had used, so Paul here suggests unintentionally the indissoluble connection of his gospel with that of Jesus.

C. Summary.

The biographical material on the life of Jesus is on the whole simpler in the epistles than that of the synoptics. Reason is not troubled with an account of the supernatural birth, the Galatene swine, or in fact any miracle at all, but the impression gained from the picture given with all its lack of wonder is impressively similar. He is born of a woman and under the law, from the tribe of Judah and of the seed of David,

lives as an unknown servant, poor, hated, persecuted and crucified, is betrayed just after the supper, is nailed on the cross, suffers, dies, is buried, and then rises from the dead. What more compact outline of the synoptic gospels could be given than these unidealized facts of the epistles! These, and the few that Paul furnishes, are equivalent or superior to the historical data about the life of Jesus in Acts, I Peter, the epistle to the Hebrews or the epistles of Ignatius. Who would want to venture that these writings reflect all their authors knew about the Nazarene? In view of the completeness of his knowledge, the argument from silence would be still more precarious when applied to Paul.

The quotations Paul makes of Jesus' teachings are evidently taken from the materials that entered into the Marcan or Logia sources according to Harnack's construction of them (*Sayings of Jesus*, '08) and their force with reference to this problem can scarcely be questioned. If there were no other evidence, this would be enough to establish Paul's acquaintance with the tradition about Jesus. The possibility where gospel and epistle do not so well agree, that Paul may be nearer the actual words of Jesus than the synoptic records has been noted. Paul rarely refers to the kingdom of God and nowhere does he give a resume of Jesus' kingdom idea. Nor would a compilation of all his references to it furnish a complete account of the conception. This has led many to think him indifferent to what was most important to Jesus. However the idea is often present when the term is not and when he uses the latter, he is always in harmony with the thought of Jesus.

All the synoptic passages referred to on this subject and on Paul's thought of Christ, which is probably derived indirectly from the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, are found in Mark and the Logia. No special account has been taken of many references, but of all the passages used for more important comparisons between 45 and 50 are from Mark and the Logia, while about 20 come from the other material. That does not mean that in some particular cases the latter may not be equal to the former in value. Not infrequently that is the case. It does follow, however, that Mark and the Logia are probably nearer the tradition Paul knew and likewise because older, contain less of the later loss and accretions due to the growth and development of tradition. Since they are probably nearer the words and deeds of Jesus, their value for Paul's relationship to them is greater. The proportion in the passages used in this investigation is more than two to one in favor of Mark and the Logia. Other things being equal, the degree of probability of a connection between these passages and Paul's is relatively high. In the evidence studied on their thought of God, the law, and salvation, but one or two passages in each are not from the Logia or Mark.

In their conception of God there is the possibility of not a little community of thought and of Old Testament ideas, but the same religious and practical interest in Him speaks for some connection. Every feature of Paul's Christology is doubtless not to be deduced from Jesus' Messianic consciousness. Existing differences are not great. Paul did not regard Jesus' coequality with God as absolute and Jesus thought himself more than a man. Both took the same path in their departure from Jewish

Messianic thought and the only plausible source for the faith Paul and the early church had in Christ is what the historical Jesus was. Their attitude toward the law has been shown to be so similar that the question appears rather as one of the extent of dependence than as one of connection or no connection. Such agreement between two Jews on a non-Jewish view of salvation points strongly toward dependence. Only so does the place given a crucified fellow-Jew in his belief, and to the cross, upon which a curse rested, seem plausible and no other part of his teaching is Paul so careful to say he "received" (I Cor. 15:3). The striking identity between the spirit of their ethical principles, of which love was the greatest, their belief that being is deeper than doing, their common emphasis upon the ethical as the test of the spiritual, and their view of social obligation and responsibility, makes for a connection too close to be accounted for by the accidental. The Jewish spirit of the eschatological passages, as shown by their similarity to the later Jewish apocalyptic thought, renders their value here less but not inconsiderable. The least valuable of the evidence presented is the section on the institutional aspects of the teachings of Jesus and Paul. Twice as much as is found in Mark and the Logia comes from the "peculiar" source. It is a question how much Jesus said about disciplinary regulations, baptism, or even the Lord's Supper in the way of instituting it as a memorial rite. However the above evidence strongly supports the grammatical interpretation of τοῦ Χριστοῦ in εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ as the subjective genitive and both unite in pointing to the historical Jesus as the source of Paul's gospel. The data

do not permit proof, of course, but with the possibility of such dependence established, warrant belief not only in its probability, but in its greater probability than that of any other theory.

Again and again it has been pointed out that the agreements or similarities have not been verbal, even when that of thought and spirit has been most evident. Verbal likeness has been found but rarely. Different words do not necessarily mean different views, but why so much of this? "But we have the mind of Christ", I Cor.2:16, may be suggested here as an explanation. Paul feels that his own mental processes are inspired, that his judgments are the product of his inner relation with Christ and because of that he so designates his reflection upon the mind of Christ which he gives us. Such reflection would carefully preserve the spirit, but would care little relatively for the exact words of Jesus. It has been puzzling to some how Paul could give so much of the spirit of Jesus and yet so rarely quote him. The unnaturalness here is due largely to the point of view of the approach to the study of Paul. Is the fundamental in his thought of Christianity its teaching or its spirit? Is he a dogmatist, a philosopher, a systematic theologian, or is he more a practical missionary? May it not be that his understanding of Jesus sets his emphasis upon the inner spirit rather than upon phraseology, and is that not what a great creative and independent spirit so understanding the Nazarene would most naturally do?

It has been observed that he did not quote even the Old Testament accurately, but inclined to his own reproduction. Consequently in writing the Corinthians concerning their factions and

their problems of the moral life and of church worship, he is convinced in the face of his mystical view of inspiration that he is stating the mind of Christ in giving them his own conclusions (I Cor.2:16). Such a statement would hardly be possible, if the apostle were not conscious of fidelity to his Lord's message. Goguel says Paul was "tout nourri" on the words of Jesus, so he need not quote him. When he is not certain he is reproducing his Lord's teaching, he plainly states it in his "say I, not the Lord" of I Cor.7:12 and 25. There is quite as much reason for asserting in this connection that Paul may refer to some things said by Jesus, but not preserved in the synoptic tradition, as for the statement that he has departed from primitive tradition about Jesus. Such certainty of the "mind of Christ", not an empty assertion in the light of the above evidence, was possible only if he had meditated upon the early tradition about Jesus, until he had become saturated by it and had marked it with his own stamp and seal.

Some in the interest of a vital relationship between Jesus and Paul to explain the latter's consciousness, the attitude of the church toward him and his thought, and above all the life of the early church, argue, as did Resch, that Paul was familiar with a written source of the words of Jesus. However they find it difficult to explain why he did not make a greater use of it and why he develops, if he does not depart, from some of the positions of that tradition. Those who are led by these difficulties, as Wrede, to deny such a vital relationship between these two, are much annoyed - unless they pass by on the other side - by the consciousness of Paul and the approval the early

church seems to have given him. These and other facts of the early church life are either minimized or explained satisfactorily to themselves, but it can be insisted that it is an explanation that stages Marlet with Marlet himself left out. Postulate the life and teaching of Jesus and Pauline, yes, Apostolic thought may be derived, but to propose the reverse is to forget the necessity of the adequate cause for any effect. This great fact is preserved by the theory that Paul meditated upon, brooded over the gospel tradition until he made it his own. It adequately accounts for Paul's conviction that he continues the spirit and thought of Jesus; on this theory the attitude of the early church toward him is no puzzle; that he very rarely quotes Jesus and is not much concerned, apparently, about phraseology is the expected; that at some points he develops his thought along original lines to considerable distances even from that of his Master, whom he never slavishly follows, is the natural; and on this theory the increased reflection of this body of tradition from Galatians and the Thessalonian epistles, the earlier, to the Corinthian epistles and Romans, the later, may be regarded as the product of continued meditation upon and growing assimilation of this "mind of Christ". This theory stresses not so much the speculative as the practical interests of Paul and provides an excellent basis for the study of the life of the primitive church. Some at least of the difficulties of other theories it solves and the stronger features of practically all of them it admirably synthesizes.

Either the facts about the life of Jesus which Paul's writings include or the words of Jesus he quotes as the highest authority for him and the church establish Paul's intimate

acquaintance with primitive Christian tradition. In addition there has passed in review a large number of allusions to the life and teaching of Jesus. Many a theory of relationship has ^{upon} ~~being~~ evidence no more convincing than many of these allusions taken singly. Their cumulative weight, coupled with Paul's use of certain Aramaic words, his consciousness of unity with the mother church and with other heralds of the Cross, his sense of dependence upon Jesus, that he was the transmitter of the gospel not about, but of Jesus, and the plausible and the necessary in his earlier experience and his missionary labor emphatically support the conclusion just stated. If more evidence of Paul's knowledge of the traditional life and words of Jesus were added - and more can be - it would not essentially strengthen the impression of Paul's vital connection with the spiritually creative energies of the Nazarene.

IV. Why is there no more of the Synoptic Tradition in the Pauline Writings?

To those who grant full recognition to the above evidence, but feel there should be more of the synoptic tradition in Paul's work and as well to those who seek to reduce this data to a minimum this question arises. Some considerations make it more reasonable to wonder that there is so much rather than that there is so little of this tradition in the Apostle's writings. He appears somewhat indifferent to the life of Jesus because he seeks to prove the Messianicship of Jesus by reference to the Old Testament rather than to the historical Jesus, his claims, miracles, and work. That that is unnatural to us is due chiefly to our point of view. To the Jews especially the chief objection

to the new movement was its unscripturalness and that Paul with his predecessors and colleagues tried to meet. Then Paul had an attitude toward truth that seems to have belonged quite as much to the spirit of the time as to the Jew. He felt that the older truth is, the truer it is. It is an argument Justin used in his Dialogue with Trypho. The promise, and so the Old Testament argument for the Messiahship of Jesus, was 430 years older than the law (Gal.3:17). To some, e.g. Schweitzer, he appears indifferent to the life and teaching of the earthly Jesus, because he fails to give a full-resumé of Jesus' message about the Kingdom. That has been sufficiently treated, p.72f.

There are a number of conditions which would affect Paul's exact reproduction of synoptic tradition. Certainly its written form, and perhaps its more or less fixed oral form, was subsequent to Paul's contact with it. The disagreements among the synoptic writers themselves indicate that the tradition was transmitted not only variously, but for all its fixity somewhat freely. Just what was its state at the various times when Paul came in touch with it? No real answer can be given, for we do not have the data necessary, but the probability of deviation from the records we now have is sufficiently great that we have little reason to expect great similarity even when he quotes Jesus.

Further it is necessary to reckon with the different personality and temperament. Religious experience never exactly recurs and much less than the average could it be expected in a forceful personality like that of Paul. His mental make-up seems more reflective and speculative than that of Jesus, and

his language is not so simple and pictorial. Not only are there differences in disposition, but markedly different are the formative influences that play upon their early lives. Tarsus could make a contribution impossible to Nazareth whose influence she could not duplicate. Paul had gone to school to the rabbis, had been taught to prove and to trace connections, all of which was rather alien to Jesus. He had learned the Rabbinic dialectic with its principle, its objection and reply, and found it useful not for understanding Jesus, but for fighting the Jews. Rom. 5:20 - 8:11 is an excellent example, so different from the terse and simple expression of Jesus. Paul knew the Greek world more intimately and so possesses Greek ideas that were never used by Jesus, who reveals little trace of either Rabbinic or Hellenic color. In not only personality and temperament, but in training and manner of thought and expression, not to mention the difference of their audiences, there is ground not only for considerable difference between Jesus and Paul, but for a radical departure in the form the latter would use for his Lord's thought.

These factors affect not only the accuracy with which Paul reproduced the tradition about Jesus, but along with others, the amount of it as well. Among the most evident of these is the fact that the presuppositions of these epistles indicate that they were written to an already instructed people. To refer to some of them seems superfluous, so omnipresent are they in the epistles. The Galatians previously know about Jesus Christ, his gospel "which ye received" (1:3), Cephas and the other apostles (1:13), that Jesus was crucified (3:1), and still more.

Neither in the epistles he writes churches he has visited nor in Romans does he feel called upon to explain such allusions as these and others, or the various names and titles he ascribes to Jesus. It is certain, too, that he presupposes greater knowledge than Luke reports as given in the missionary preaching. After Peter's preaching at Pentecost, the 3000 were taught (Acts 2:42). Luke further says about Paul's stay in Corinth, "and he dwelt there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them" (18:11). In Jerusalem Paul was charged as "the man that teacheth all men everywhere" (21:28). With one exception he had personally visited every church he wrote and before writing he had given them the gospel he had received (I Cor. 15:3). Paul also in Ephes. 4:21 and Col. 1:23 and their contexts seems to distinguish these two functions, as in Gal. 1:12 also. His total oral teaching is represented by εὐαγγελίζω and διδάσκω, and by collecting the allusions of Paul to the life and teaching of Jesus, and adding his presuppositions of it all, it would be possible to reconstruct, in a measure, his oral gospel.

Further, Paul's allusions to the life and work of Jesus are somewhat incidental and are always a means to some other end. With the Parousia imminent what call was there for an extended interpretation or account of gospel tradition? If the end was a matter of weeks or at the most of months, what was the big task to be met? Naturally it would not be to give such accounts, nor even a system of teaching. More urgent was the practical work of preparing the people for what seemed just ahead of them. It is a very significant fact, however, that the pressure of this demand, great as it was, never neutralized Paul's active

interest in the teaching of Jesus. With the exception of the epistles to the Romans and Corinthians Paul nowhere reflects more knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus than he does in the Thessalonian epistles. His quotation (I Thess. 4:13ff.) is connected with the Parousia, but not so "love your enemies", echoed in I Thess. 5:13, the ideal of moral perfection in I Thess. 4:3, 7 and 5:22, watchfulness in I Thess. 5:6, unceasing prayer in I Thess. 5:17, deliverance from evil in II Thess. 3:3, Jesus' ethical view of the Kingdom of God in II Thess. 1:5, and yet other passages. Eschatological belief must have affected this interest in the historical Jesus, but even it was not strong enough to neutralize at any time, it seems, Paul's high regard for early Christian tradition.

Concrete situations arose in the churches and the epistles were written not to give an exposition of Paul's teaching, but with the definite aim of solving certain problems. Time was short and Paul's sense of its importance forced out the unnecessary. Like the rest even Romans arose out of urgent needs, living questions, and plans for the immediate future far more than from reflection. In such epistles if he chanced to give an interpretation of Jesus or to refer to his deeds and teachings, it would not be as an exposition of what he believed or knew, but as a means to aiding some distinct situation. In such writings not balance but bias is likely to be present. Some aspects of his teaching are sure to be over-emphasized and others just as certain to be slightly touched or even omitted. Paul wrote the Corinthians, "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified" (I Cor.

2:2), but while in Corinth he wrote the Thessalonians with just the barest allusion to Jesus' death. What Paul wrote in his epistles was more or less accidental, that is, it depended much on local needs and conditions. Once he wrote to correct the results of fanaticism and skepticism about the Parousia; again it was to make reply to strictures made against him and his work. Once it was to give instructions with reference to certain ethical and ritualistic irregularities and to unify factions; again it was to prepare for a visit, to thank the givers of an offering, or to meet false teaching. It is clear that such situations would tend to call forth not so much the historical as the dogmatic. The materials he used were determined not so much by what he knew, as by the practical needs of his readers.

Striking illustrations of this fact about Paul's epistles are found in the five quotations he makes from the words of Jesus, discussed on p.36 ff. They are all "occasional". The Parousia-teaching made quite an impression on the church at Thessalonica and the people who heard it evidently thought it was to come during their lifetime. Some died and still the Parousia delayed. It was to answer the question as to the part these who had died would have in the Parousia, when it happened, that Paul wrote the Thessalonians. That fact explains why he quotes Jesus on that theme here and nowhere else. Pagan marriage ideals and the Parisian type of life in Corinth had affected the church there and that accounts for the fact that in I Cor. only he discusses that subject along with divorce and in 7:10f., quoted the words of Jesus, presumably recorded in Mk.10:11f. It is the abuse of the Lord's Supper in the same

church that calls forth his rather full account of its institution by Jesus, quite completely in agreement with the synoptic narrative. There is every reason to believe that if these situations had not arisen, these sayings of Jesus would not have been cited. Many of Paul's teachings have this character and any attempt to everywhere bring Paul's teachings into a system commits a grievous error at this point. For controversial purposes or to correct unethical practices and false views undue emphasis would be given to aspects of his teaching quite out of proportion to that given to other equally important features of his thought. For example, Wrede believes (Paulus, p. 72ff.)

that justification is not the central point of Paul's thought, as we have grown to think since the Reformation. For that he thinks it is too rarely expressed and then only when there is a conflict with Judaism, as in Gal., Rom., and in Phil. 3:6-9.

"Sie ist die Kampfeslehre des Paulus, nur aus seinem Lebenskampfe seiner Auseinandersetzung mit dem Judentum und Juden-Christentum verständlich." (s. 72) The Jews thought he could reach redemption by keeping the law, which Paul felt could not be done (Gal. 3:10f.). To Paul the thing which marked the Christian from the Jew was not morality, but faith in Jesus Christ. His Lord's death did, he felt, what the Jewish offering had done (Rom. 3:25) and by faith in this divine offering he could be justified. Elsewhere than in these polemics Wrede holds that Paul's thought is that God judges man not by his faith, but by his works. Whether Wrede's contention is a true one or not, he has done good service in pointing out what may result, if allowance is not made for over-emphasis or for too little attention

and so a lack of balance in such writings.

Even Paul's assertion of freedom from tradition, Gal.1:12, "For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ", is in answer to a charge and so is "occasional". Both this and his occasional emphasis on the value of tradition in I Cor.11:23ff., 15:1ff., and Phil.1:12ff., appear in polemics, but if allowance is made for controversial over-statement and account is taken of the point at issue, they are not irreconcilable. In Corinthians he appeals to the authority of Jesus with reference to the Eucharist and gives a summary of the gospel he has received, which they all preach. The situation in Galatians is a different one. The point at issue is not one of gospel facts, for on those, as given in I Cor.15:3f., "that Christ died for our sins", and elsewhere he was in agreement with Peter, James and the Jewish Christians. To write that he had spent but fifteen days with Peter and had seen no other of the apostles save James, the Lord's brother, (Gal.1:13f.), would convince no one that he had not received the facts of early Christian tradition from them and to admit indebtedness to the Jerusalem church at that point would not in any sense compromise him. That was not the issue and the controversy would not be intelligible apart from a common possession of the great facts of Christian tradition on the part of Paul and his Jewish assailants, who, too, were preaching, but perverting the gospel of Christ. They were insisting evidently not upon the law as a means of salvation, but upon it plus faith in Christ. Paul's contention was that if anything more than Christ were necessary for righteousness, he

had died in vain (2:21). His claim that a Gentile need not first become a Jew in order to become a Christian, that observance of the Jewish law as such is unnecessary, is the occasion of the stricture against him. Paul is not one of the twelve the Galatians are told and so has no authority to make such a statement. Paul's reply is a defence of his authority as an apostle. His independence is not to be found in the historical, the gospel facts, but in the dogmatic, his peculiar understanding of the gospel. Here he is on a par with the rest, for the revelation of Jesus came not during his lifetime, but after his resurrection. "οὐδὲ ἑγώ" (1:12) suggests that they received theirs also not from men, but by revelation, that is by inspired insight. In 1:16, "I conferred not with flesh and blood" might refer to words spoken to Peter, Mt.16:17, "For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven". In any case he like Peter had received his knowledge of the facts by natural channels, but more important than that is the interpretation of them and Paul's argument is that his independence here has as good and better authority than that of the Jewish Christians or even the twelve. When Paul refers to direct revelations to himself, visions, he has nothing to say about their content (II Cor.12:4), and even states he can not reveal them.

Just what then does he mean by the "revelation of Jesus Christ", which is the source of his authority for his independent gospel with reference to the Gentiles and the law of Moses? I Cor.2:16, "But we have the mind of Christ", indicates his belief that his thought processes are by virtue of his union with Christ in essential agreement with his Lord's. By then Christ's

will and mind may be revealed to him. Is he then ascribing to his reflections and speculations the dignity of revelations? It has already been noted that to derive Paul's thought from his speculation about the Christ he had known through Jewish literature and tradition, is to fail to account for his departure from the Jewish thought of the Messiah to his view with its emphasis on the cross. Even if that were possible by a synthesis with the suffering Servant of Isaiah and Enoch's Son of Man, and probability and direct evidence are against it, it still less adequately accounts for the new view of the law and the new love for an alien race which came to Paul the Pharisee. It is psychologically inconceivable that his anti-Jewish gospel, and his universalism, his complete devotion to another race could be derived from Pharisaic Judaism. Nothing short of reflection upon the mind of Christ, the total tradition he possessed about him, and his experience with it, the logic of facts he felt within and observed without, can account for these important features of his message. Jesus' reply in the parable of the Good Samaritan as to who one's neighbor is, Paul excellently illustrates in his life. Its implicit universalism he makes concrete. The product of his meditation upon the materials given him by early Christian tradition and by its effects within and without him he regards in the light of I Cor. 2:16 as revelations from Jesus Christ. Not only has this view of Paul an "occasional" feature, but his view of revelation as developed here throws some light on his paying less heed to the actual words of Jesus than might be expected.

This bears particularly on the objection of some here that

Paul makes no appeal to the authority of Jesus on such subjects as the law on which his authority might be especially effective. Some think he could not so quote him. Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that Jesus was quoted against him and Paul seems to know he can not be. This may be due to Jesus' apparently double attitude toward the law. (See p.89) Paul may have thought his revelation, i.e., his reflections on the mind of Christ and his own experience, as quite as satisfactory a norm for the validity of his message as the more or less indefinite attitude of Jesus on this theme, especially. To this must also be added the tremendous influence of the cross on the disciples and their reproduction of Jesus' words and deeds. How could the crucified, accused by the law, be God's Messiah? The amount of space given the Passion week in the gospels indicate that the earthly career of Jesus before that week had fallen into a secondary place. The early Christians must interpret not those early events, but the death and resurrection, the great events between them and the life and teaching of Jesus, and Paul here is in complete harmony with his predecessors and colleagues. He had seen, dimly if not clearly, that if Jesus could gain world-wide significance, his limitations historically must be transcended in the heavenly. The Man of Nazareth, as J.H. Moulton puts it, the speaker of Aramaic, must become the universal man with a message that all men of whatever tongue, clime or age can understand. (Jesus or Christ, Hibbert Journal, 7:759ff.)

What then can be said for the "argumentum de silentio" which is so much stressed by some scholars, notably Brückner? It has just been pointed out that had it not been for the abuse

of the Lord's Supper in the church at Corinth, Paul would probably say: even he did not do it. The reasoning of Brückner and others, if consistent, would then have been that Paul knew nothing about it. That reason is there for the belief that such reasoning on many other items would not be equally fallacious? The evidence of this investigation shows it highly dangerous. The presuppositions and echoes of the life of Jesus are too numerous, in spite of the conditions that affect their reproduction, Paul's temperament, personality, training, the believed imminence of the Parousia, the intervening cross and resurrection, and his aims and methods in writing his epistles. In view of these considerations, that he reflected so much establishes a strong presumption that he knew and could have reflected much more than appears even implicitly present.

The point is sometimes made that modern letters written by pastors and church leaders to churches or the Bishops' quadrennial letter or address to the Methodist Episcopal Church would, if subjected to the sort of criticism applied to Paul's letters, show very little knowledge of synoptic tradition and that by the use of the same methods and tests an even stronger case can be made for their ignorance of or indifference to, or both, this gospel material than for Paul's. The analogy, however, is hardly a fair one. Knowledge of this material is now so much more prevalent that there is not the need of referring to it that there was in the first century of the early church. Much more apropos is a comparison of what is found in Paul with the writings of that century approximately. The historical data about Jesus' life, found in Acts and I Peter (p.32), is really not as extensive as that found in Paul. They do not so

frequently refer directly to the sayings of Jesus, as does Paul, and their echoes of or indirect allusions to them are less apparent (p. 129ff). If the Lucan authorship of Acts, so generally conceded, and the genuineness of I Peter, which there is an increasing willingness to grant, be kept in mind, Paul's knowledge of early Christian tradition stands in no unfavorable light, if compared with that reflected by the author of one of the synoptics and by one of the most prominent of the eye-witnesses. If the argument from silence is not trustworthy as applied here to the authors of Acts and I Peter, what reason is there for assurance that it is any more so when applied to Paul? Then it would follow that even if the amount of synoptic material apparently present in Paul's epistles were relatively slight, it would have little or no force against the possibility or probability of his acquaintance with that tradition, if the material present favors such a conclusion.

In this connection it may be well to search a couple typical writings of a later time for synoptic materials. First Clement, sent from Rome to Corinth probably within the last decade of the first century nowhere refers to the gospels as such, but to οἱ λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, as in 13:1 and 46:7. These it will be seen are never real quotations. 13:1, "Be merciful that ye may obtain mercy. Forgive, that ye may be forgiven. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye are kind, xx. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you." (Mt. 5:7, 6:14f., 7:1f.) 46:2, "Woe unto that man: it were good for him if he had not been born, than that he should offend one of my elect; it were better for him that a mill-stone be

hung on him, and that he be cast into the sea, than that he should turn aside one of my elect."2:1, "giving more gladly than receiving" clearly echoes Acts 20:35, a word of Jesus not preserved in the gospels. 24:5, "the sower went forth to sow (Mk. 4:3) is used not as Jesus used it, but as an illustration from nature to support belief in the resurrection. This is the extent of reference to the words of Jesus to be found in the entire epistle, but it is highly improbable that they at all represent the author's knowledge of that material.

The historical data about Jesus' life, found in the epistles of Ignatius, written probably very early in the second century, has been noted (p.57f.). To the Ephesians 5:2, "the bread of God" (John 6:33), 14:2, "the tree is known by its fruits" (Mt.12:33), To the Magnesians 7:1, on Jesus' relation to the Father (John 5:19,30), To the Trallians 11:1, and To the Philadelphians 3:1, "For these are not the planting of the Father" (Mt.13:13), To the Smyrnaeans 1:1, "All righteousness might be fulfilled by him" (Mt.3:15), "Take, handle me and see that I am not a phantom without a body" (Lk.24:39), 6:1, "He that receiveth let him receive" (Mt.19:12), To the Philadelphians 7:1, "For it knoweth whence it comes and whither it goes" (John 3:8), and To Polycarp 2:2, "Be prudent as the serpent in all things and pure as the dove forever" (Mt.10:16) make up the references at all clear to the words of Jesus in the writings of Ignatius. None of these references are real quotations of any textual transmission known to us, even though some of them approach it. These epistles along with the rest we have from the early centuries show conclusively not only that such writings can not

be expected to merely reproduce synoptic material, but that arguments, based upon its relative absence, are for the writer's ignorance of or indifference to such tradition highly precarious, not to say often utterly false.

V. Did Paul alter Primitive Christianity?

For all the similarity between Paul and Jesus one feels himself, as he turns from the synoptic gospels to read the epistles, in a new atmosphere. He misses the pictorial language, concrete thought, the simple, terse and direct teaching of the Nazarene and finds in its stead the abstract, the theological. The change is not in this alone, for again and again Paul goes beyond the thought of the historical Jesus. Often these divergences are simply more apparent than the agreements. Frequently when no known word of Jesus is reflected by Paul, the former's bearing or spirit warrants the latter's statement. That there are differences, however, is undeniable. Paul's words about the pre-existence of Christ (Col.1:17), his equality with God (Phil.2:6 and Col.2:9), and his allusion to him as the second Adam (Rom.5:12ff., and I Cor.15:22 and 45f.) seem new. It is not necessary for the purpose of this investigation to study in detail these problems of Pauline theology, but some considerations may be advanced that will in a measure, even if not wholly, account for these differences. They will sometimes be the result of the same reasons that affected the extent or character of Paul's reproduction of synoptic tradition. (See p. 124ff) Such marked differences in temperament and training could not but produce divergences and they could be materially aided by the believed imminence of the Parousia, as well as by

the later time with its intervening events of the death and resurrection of Jesus that were calling for an interpretation. Paul's life had its "before" and "after", while that of Jesus was unbroken. The Apostle consequently knew the sense of guilt, the power of sin, as Jesus never knew it. Further, Paul was face to face with the needs of the Apostolic Church with its hundreds of Gentile converts. Differences in their messages would be necessitated by these conditions, which largely explain those differences which exist between the Apostle and his Lord. It must be insisted, however, that if differences were found so great they could not be so accounted for, they could not efface or even really affect the above evidence for Paul's vital knowledge of early tradition about Jesus.

But to the extent that these differences between Paul and Jesus exist, is Paul the inventor or creator, as Crede insists (Paulus, p. 33ff.)? In answering this question many have turned to the psychological and most have too largely overlooked primitive Christianity. In spite of "some things hard to be understood" in Paul's epistles (II Peter 3:16) they must be regarded as intelligible to their contemporaries. Is it not then more probable that the new, Paul not so much started as found? His written message seemed unaffected by the fact that the oral teaching had, in one case, been given by another. That Paul had ample opportunity to "receive" his gospel from the early church has been pointed out (p. 32f.). The historical data he gives about Jesus' life has been shown to be much like that found in Acts, I Peter and Hebrews (p. 55). How do they compare in their reflection of the teaching and their interpretation

of the person of Jesus? The value of Acts, I Peter and Hebrews for early Christian tradition has been discussed (p.27f.). Goguel thinks Peter's sermons are not the work of the author of Acts, for he had a Pauline tendency, and the elimination of this could not have been intentional, for the difference between them was not then seen. So if not a reproduction of what Peter really said, they represent the main line of the preaching of the first apostles. (*L'Apotre Paul et Jésus Christ*, Part I, ch.1)

The attitude they all take toward the law is implicitly, at least, in agreement. Peter's discourses in Acts give no recognition to the law. In 2:38 he states that the things to be done are to "repent" and "be baptized". Again 3:19, "repent ye and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out", is followed in 4:12 by the statement that "in none other is there salvation". If it be objected that these sermons to Jews and even the message to the Samaritans (8:14ff.), are addressed to people who kept the law and did not need that injunction, it can be pointed out that the same absence of a reference to the law is found in his sermon to Cornelius and his kinsmen and friends (10:26-48). This is all the more significant, since Peter as a Jew is the chief representative of Jewish Christianity, since he states that it is "unlawful" for a Jew to join himself to other people, and since "they of the circumcision that believed" stood about (13:45). They were not required to keep the law, but to believe (v.43) and to be baptized (v.47). Peter later, in justifying his conduct to the Jerusalem church, says, since the belief of these Gentiles in Jesus brought the gift of the Holy Spirit just as in their own case, "Who was I that I could withstand God?" Peter's attitude here is due not only to the logic

of events, but to that of his own thought, as shown by his vision of the unclean animals (15:10ff.), which was psychologically inconceivable unless he had before practically won that conclusion. Peter in sitting with the Gentiles (Gal.2:12) remembered Jesus' example under similar circumstances. To be sure the early Christians kept the law, moral and ceremonial so far as possible, but no clear evidence can be found in Acts that the early church thought it at all necessary to becoming a follower of the Nazarene. In the speech of Stephen (ch.7) and elsewhere the law is held to be valuable and worthy of observance, though subsidiary in character. For a time the observance of the law and the thought of its non-essential character stood more or less unconsciously side by side, but became at length antithetic. In Acts 15:1 and 5 appears a group of believing Pharisees who said, "It is needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses". Besides their attitude that all must keep the law two others were possible. a. None need observe it. b. The Jews may observe it as Jews, but the Gentiles need not. The former was championed at the council, called at Jerusalem, by Peter, Barnabas and Paul (15:7-12), while the latter view seems to have been the position of James. His suggested compromise, which was agreed upon, calling upon the Gentiles to "abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled and from fornication", a concession to the Jews at every point, really grants the correctness of the position defended by Peter, Paul and Barnabas. Forms of religious worship and conduct continue when views concerning them have often radically changed and so in the early church

with reference to the law. It has been pointed out that the seemingly ambiguous course of Jesus with reference to the law is probably in part responsible for the later indefiniteness about it. I Peter is noticeably Pauline or, better, simply represents the primitive church from which Paul secured his views and Hebrews regards the law as a copy, the shadow of what is now the reality, the substance (3:5). All the evidence here points to the conclusion that not Paul, but the believing Pharisees of Acts 15:1 and 5 represent a deflection from the real position of the early church.

Nor is this conclusion weakened by such contentions, as that of Weinel, that Paul on his last trip to Jerusalem first learned about the decree of the council (21:25), and that in submitting without a word to the suggestion that he purify himself and perform vows in the temple to overcome the impression of his hostility to the law, he not only takes a backward step, but becomes another Paul than the one who influenced history. (Paul, the Man and his Work, p.234f.) Such a position must ignore 15:4, which states that the decrees were delivered on the second missionary journey. It is strangely oblivious to the fact that Paul never merely reproduces rules, but converts them into principles and that of the decree is perfectly preserved in such words as I Cor.10:32, "Give no occasion of stumbling, either to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God". In performing the vows he is not another, but the same Paul who was "all things to all men" (I Cor.9:22), "to them that are under the law, as under the law" (I Cor.9:20) that he might win them.

While the law to the early church was not valid for the

Gentiles, at least, the Old Testament as an authority pretty well dominated it. Consequently as for Paul so for it, the argument from scripture was the strongest proof of the Messiahship of Jesus (Acts 2:25ff., 34, 3:22ff., 13:47, etc., I Peter 2:6f.). The Christology of the early church rests upon its thought of Jesus as Messiah and a Lord. To be sure, Paul does not allude to his miracles as evidence for it, as does Acts 2:22, 13:38 and other passages, but who in that is nearer the spirit of Jesus? And this conviction of the Messiahship of the crucified Nazarene could hardly be the product of belief in the resurrection merely, but goes back to inextinguishable impressions of Jesus. The primitive church thought him more than ordinary man. He was God-sent. The epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes the human side of Jesus. He was like men in all things, tasted death, was tempted and shared our weaknesses generally, but without sinless and unique. (4:15 and 5:7-8). The same conception is present in Acts 3:14, 4:27 and 30, and I Peter 1:15 and 2:21f., among other passages. He is exalted at the right hand of God (Acts 2:34, 7:55, and I Peter 3:22). With all his uniqueness his equality with God is not emphasized as by Paul in Phil. 2:6 and elsewhere. However Paul so often uses the term Father and Son in that connection and rarely is justice done to this relation as conceived by the oriental. Consistent with a certain equality is a distinct inferiority inherent in the term son when compared with that of father. That synthesis of equality and inferiority is doubtless present in Paul's thought of Jesus. The son is not in every sense equal to the father. 3:18 is but a typical passage in Acts to show belief that God had planned for Christ

from the beginning, found also in I Peter 1:21, and from that to Paul's thought of the pre-existence of Jesus (Col.1:17) is but a short step to take. Paul's use of it shows that it held no more than a very trivial place in his thought. So the point of his reference to Adam, the racial effect of his act, is derived from an idea clearly prevalent in the early church, that the work of Jesus, the Second Adam, had significance for the entire race. Evident, too, is the universality of Jesus' work, so much developed by Paul, for the book of Acts sets little store by national distinctions. The basis for all this in Jesus' remarkable claims for himself, his lack of a sense of guilt, his call to others to repent, and his assertion of a unique relation to the Father has been noted (p.79 ff.).

Dominant, however, in the Christology of the early church was its thought of the death and resurrection of Jesus. To include the facts of Jesus' suffering and death in his Messianic thought Paul, a little less evidently, but hardly less surely than the early church (Acts 3:13 and 4:27), added the idea of the suffering Servant of Jehovah from second Isaiah. And as in the case of the Servant, so in that of Jesus the suffering and death were for the sake of the world. However Acts regards his death not as the great fact of all religious history, but as the crime of the Jewish people (2:23,3:13ff., and 5:30). 3:17 presents it as something to be explained - done "in ignorance". The same conception Paul possessed when he was not thinking first of his theology, I Cor.2:8b, "for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory". Because that was the view of Jesus' death, held in the earliest days of the church, it does

not follow, as we have reasoned, that another view did not live alongside it and in the minds of the same people. That is borne out by the fact that "in the same breath" Acts 2:23 and 3:13 state that his death was a crime and the realization of the plan of God. If his death was a part of the divine purpose, and the forgiveness of sins through Jesus Christ was "the refrain of every apostolic sermon" (Donney, *The Death of Christ*, p. 32) (Acts 2:38, 3:19, 5:31 and 13:43), the next step was to connect the two which the early church doubtless did, even though it does not often appear in Acts. Bacon notes that while Paul's thought of Jesus is dominated by Isaiah's suffering servant, he never makes an explicit appeal to that prophecy. That he concludes is because his thought is not late but old and generally adjoined to, a part of an older tradition than that of the synoptics which locate it. I Peter not only puts the death of Jesus at the center of its presentation, but holds it to be the ground of forgiveness (1:18f., 2:24 and 3:18). In agreement here is the Epistle to the Hebrews 9:12 and 26. Paul claims to have received the teaching "that Christ died for our sins" (I Cor. 15:3) and if it was not the mere repetition of the teaching of the first apostles, it was the logical putting together of their emphasis upon the death of Jesus and that Jesus is the savior, the only hope of salvation (Acts 4:12 and 5:31). Weizsäcker argues that the inference is indisputable: "the primitive church already taught, and proved from scripture, that the death of Jesus exerted a saving influence in the forgiveness of sin" (*The Apostolic Age*, p. 139f.). Paul's exactness of oneness with the church in his interpretation of Jesus' death, which is not re-

which is never seriously opposed, argues strongly that I Cor. 15:3 should be accepted at its face value. All of which supports the conclusion that the synoptic story, which focuses its interest in the resurrection upon the empty tomb, entirely absent in Paul, has a less secure basis in earliest tradition than Paul's "raised for our justification" (Rom. 4:25).

Belief in the Parousia had exerted great influence and had perhaps caused trouble in the early church before its results were apparent in the church at Thessalonica. It is witnessed in Acts 1:11 and 3:20f. It is an interesting and plausible suggestion that makes it the explanation of the situation in Acts 4:32ff. "They had all things common", xx "neither was there among them any that lacked" (v. 34). They were living not off of income put together, but off of the principal, the proceeds of the sale of their possessions. That means plenty for a time, but a day of reckoning comes, which for the church at Jerusalem may be present in 11:29, "And the disciples xx determined to send relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judea". Perhaps it helped create the condition that called for the collection Paul raised for the saints at Jerusalem. Nothing but the belief that the Parousia was imminent and that there would soon be no need of property accounts for its sale and the use of the proceeds as in Acts 4:34. Communism, as often suggested here, does not explain the situation. I Peter reflects the same belief about the future, though the coming is not so near in 3:4 as in 4:7, but its presence in 1:7, 13 and 5:1, as Noye thinks, is doubtful. That the judgment of God upon the living and the dead is to be pronounced by Jesus is expressed in Acts 10:42, 17:31,

and I Peter 4:3, as well as occasionally in Paul's writings. This general agreement doubtless rests on the words of Jesus to a similar effect in Mt.16:27 and 25:31-46. The belief in the nearness of the Parousia so dominated the apostolic church that it must have had some connection with Jesus, if but indirectly.

In many other respects there is marked agreement between Paul and the first apostles. The ethical ideals of Jesus are the ideals of the early church and it has never been suggested that Paul ever altered them. The charge has been made that Paul has perverted the pure gospel, the simple morality of Jesus, into a system of theology and for it two errors are responsible. The first is to regard Paul as a systematic thinker or theologian. His thought is not methodical. In Rom.1:8 and 3:2 he begins with his "first", but he grows weary and one looks in vain for his "second". In Rom.2:17 and 21 he closes his sentence differently from the ending he had intended. The "occasional" character of his epistles leads him frequently to develop one aspect of a truth to the neglect of others, for to him the system, if there be one, is quite subordinate to the practical purpose of his writing. Because of this dominant interest the viewpoint of the missionary worker and preacher is the one from which to best understand Paul. The second error is the implication that Jesus expressed the moral apart from religious teaching. The ethical in the Sermon on the Mount is imbedded in the theological, for Jesus sought to make his moral teaching effective by insisting on the religious, which would furnish the former its driving power. Especially see I Peter with its emphasis upon the

supremacy of love (4:3), the example of Christ (2:21), duty to the state and its rulers (2:13-14), its thought of persecution (4:14), and humility (5:6), and its treatment of anxiety (5:7), and finally the spirit of love and sacrifice, which pervades the life of the early church as portrayed in Acts, reflect the quarry, the mind of Christ, from which Paul drew his inspiration.

Lastly, what was the general church consciousness with reference to Paul? Where is the evidence of notable divergence in the teaching of Paul from its faith as to the Person of Christ? That Paul never gives the impression he has something entirely new to tell, finds its converse in the fact that the earliest church seem never to have regarded him as an innovator. The great desire at first was not for the facts, but for their meaning and both Paul and the earliest churches had to interpret the death of Jesus and the life of the church. That Paul had ample opportunity for familiarity with the facts of early Christian tradition has been sufficiently noted. (p.324.). The thought of the church at Jerusalem about Jesus he could equally well have known, and his visits there, his presence in the council and his work at Antioch ought to have made his position known to the leaders of the mother church. It is significant that Paul not only knew the primitive Christian faith, but must have known it from very near the time of the death of Jesus. That Paul should hold views seriously divergent from those of the mother church is hardly consonant with his high regard for her. He took a collection from his various churches for her saints and for the sake of peace with her he lost his life. She gave him the right hand of fellowship and his views about the Christ, at

least, were never once the occasion of dispute or enmity.. The controversy, to which reference has been made (p.141), could not have occurred, as it did, apart from great and fundamental agreements. It was not over Christology on which they were in general agreed. They all gave assent to the necessity of faith in Christ for salvation, but disagreed as to whether more was necessary. It was more a question of practice in admitting the Gentiles into the church, but the differences in practice revealed a deep-seated difference in their interpretation and practical application of the Christian religion. Evidence that indicated that the believing Pharisees far more than Peter and Paul diverged here from the course of the early church has been pointed out (p.140f).

The tradition that connects Peter with Paul at Rome seems to confirm the spirit of oneness between them as revealed in their literary work and in the history of Acts. To account for the similarity in the thought of Paul and I Peter by means of the Pauline neither avoids improbabilities nor explains the facts so well as the view that both had the same general source. This unity of their work finds support in Eusebius' H.E. 3:39, "while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome", and in the epistle of Ignatius to the Romans 4:3, "I do not order you as did Peter and Paul". They did not so much borrow from each other as they had a common source, the life and teaching of the man of Galilee, which controlled Paul no less than his eyewitness-colleague. In this connection, too, it can never be over-emphasized that people, who worshipped the Christ these men interpreted in their epistles, wrote and accepted the gospels. Had the order

been the synoptics, Paul's epistles, and then the Johanneine writings, there would have been ground for belief in a development from the earthly to the spiritual, from the historical to the legendary or eternal, and from the real to the ideal. That the synoptics stand between the writings not only prevents such a theory, but also tends to preclude Paul's isolation from the tradition his pupils, in a measure, later recorded.

Some urge that there was a great gulf between Paul and the primitive Christians. The latter, they think, made more of the man Jesus than did Paul, who could hardly have written some things he did about Jesus had he known him intimately in the flesh. Their Jewish Messiah became the world Redeemer to Paul. In that but partial truth exists. The above evidence indicates that Paul saw in Jesus what the earliest Christians saw, even though he may then have seen more than did they. That he took over their faith that Jesus delivers from sin is necessary to make his conversion intelligible. In giving greatest importance in his thought of Christ to the death and resurrection, Paul was not the first, but stood with the early church. To it Paul was not an innovator. It preserved actual acquaintance with Jesus himself and Paul's connection with it and its historical starting point seems beyond reasonable doubt. There can be little question that the evidence warrants the assertion of O. Holtzmann that "the genuine epistles of Paul convey far more historical information as to the actual course of Jesus' life than any other epistle in the New Testament." (The Life of Jesus, p. 11) Still truer is this with regard to the teaching of Jesus. Here he compares quite favorably with the synoptic writer of Acts

and with the eyewitness in I Peter. What reason is there for supposing that the conclusion that Paul's epistles give all we know about the historical Jesus is any more trustworthy than would be a similar conclusion about Luke and Peter drawn from the evidence of Acts and I Peter? Then the general agreement among them in their thought of the new movement and their sense of essential oneness points to the conclusion that the heart of his teaching Paul found, refracted through his experience and developed in his religious life by activity and meditation, but always in the spirit of the Greater whom he would serve.

VI. Conclusions.

1. The data presented here are not of a sort to make strict proof possible, but establish probability and provide ground for the belief that the resulting conclusions are more probable than any other.

2. Whether the "Christ" theory or the psychological explanation of Paul's work, and the consequent indifference of Paul to early Christian tradition, raises more problems than it solves, and so is not only more unsatisfactory, but more unnatural as an explanation of the facts than is the recognition of a close relationship between Paul and that tradition. Paul never derived his thought of the law, of Christ, salvation and the Kingdom from Jewish theology, his pre-Christian point of view.

3. The possibility of this relationship between Paul and primitive tradition about Jesus is established by Paul's fifteen days with Peter and James, his later associations with Peter, his journey with Barnabas and John Mark, and his contact with the Christians at Damascus, as well as with those he had persecuted and with yet others named and unnamed.

4. The high probability of Paul's intimate acquaintance with and dependence upon the early tradition about Jesus is certified by a mass of evidence, almost any part of which is sufficient to advance the theory and whose cumulative weight in its support is insuperable. To deny its recognition is to "pass by on the other side" of much literary evidence, to remove all adequate basis for the genesis of Paul's thought and to generate a number of practical absurdities in understanding the activity of Paul

and the early church.

A. A series of practical-psychological considerations require for their understanding this connection between Paul and early synoptic materials.

(1) Paul's knowledge of the historical Jesus is the only corrective of his pre-Christian views which provides an adequate basis for his non-Jewish view of the law and salvation and for his thought of the crucified Nazarene as the Messiah.

(2) His controversies with the Judaizers of Galatia and the Christians of Jerusalem are unintelligible apart from a common tradition held by all.

(3) The demands of Paul's missionary work in his attempt to convince others of the truth of his message and to answer inevitable queries which his insecure position as an apostle would not permit him to leave to others, would preclude indifference to the historical, if he were so inclined.

(4) With his high regard for the past Paul's contact with the first apostles, the church at Jerusalem and the early Christians make any indifference to what they knew about Jesus highly improbable. When coupled with Paul's consciousness of oneness with the early church and the latter's approval of him, a unity which is based upon a common God-given message, this position must be inconceivable.

B. No less conclusive is the literary evidence for a close relationship between Paul and primitive Christian tradition.

(1) His epistles are a mile apart from such knowledge

on the part of the writer, unintelligible without it on the part of the readers, who, with the exception of the Romans, had received it largely from him.

(2) The character of the synoptic gospels, largely determined by their didactic and evangelistic purposes, and the relation of their general outline to the historical data of the sermonic and epistolary literature of the New Testament indicate that they were written to preserve apostolic preaching and teaching about Jesus.

(3) The Pauline epistles and the synoptic records present similar views of the kingdom and the law, the same emphasis in the thought of God, an agreeing departure from Jewish Messianic conceptions, ideas of salvation at least related to each other, and ethical standards so strikingly similar that they are almost identical. Paul's thought of Jesus seems in continuity with that of Jesus about himself and the latter's various names and titles he is able to use without explanation. This material supports the view that the primitive in Paul's "Gospel of Christ" is that of authorship, but even more impressive are the historical data he gives from Jesus' life which belie ignorance and even indifference to the story of Jesus.

(4) If more than the cumulative weight of this evidence were needed to confirm the closest connection between Paul and the material of the synoptics, it exists in his quotations from Jesus which he uses as the highest authority in questions of faith and morals and which establishes his intimate knowledge of the teaching of Jesus. Belief in Paul's indifference

to what was greater in its sovereignty for the church than either the Torah or reason is absurd.

(5) This conclusion is further supported by his fundamental agreement with the thought of the early church about Jesus, his death and resurrection, the consciousness Paul had of unity with it, its feeling that he was not an innovator, and his association with Peter by tradition.

The impression that he converted gospel ethics into theology is due to two errors: 1. Paul was a systematic thinker, a theologian. 11. Jesus separated ethics from religion.

In this connection it must never be forgotten that those who worshipped the Christ of the epistles put together and accepted the gospels.

(6) Finally, no writers of the early church reflect more of the historical data and the sayings of Jesus than does Paul, as is shown by a comparison of his writings with Acts, I Peter, Hebrews, and the epistles of Ignatius. If the argument from silence is a precarious one when applied to the authors of these writings, what makes it any more trustworthy, when applied to Paul?

3. Differences, however, exist between the point of view of the synoptics and that of Paul, but they are largely explained by forces which operated against the reproduction of the tradition about Jesus. It is significant that these forces could not neutralize the transmission of this material.

(1) Religious experience never recurs and so no exact copies are ever found. Markedly true is this of Paul whose experience with sin and the law was so far removed from that of Jesus.

(2) Differences could be necessitated by different personalities, temperaments and the diverse formative influences in environment and training that had played upon them. Their different audiences would affect the character of their messages.

(3) The purpose of Paul's epistles was not historical, but "occasional", directed at definite needs.

(4) The presuppositions that stand upon every page of Paul's work show he is writing a people who are already informed on early Christian tradition.

(5) The written form of the synoptic tradition is later than Paul's contact with it, so he may often be as near the earliest tradition as the synoptic record. If Paul has influenced the synoptics, it is strange there are not more traces of it.

(6) Some divergence between the message of Jesus and Paul would be accounted for by the cross and resurrection which in time stand between them.

(7) Paul's use of Old Testament sources implies that he used his materials in a free spirit and often paraphrases or gives the product of his meditation upon the sources.

(8) Like his colleagues Paul proved the Messiahship of Jesus not by history but by reference to the Old Testament.

(9) The Parousia he believed to be so imminent that naturally interest in the historical gave way somewhat to that in present needs.

5. The absence of verbal similarity where there is frequently identity of spirit between Jesus and Paul, the rarity of the

latter's direct appeals to the authority of Jesus, the claim that his thought represents the mind of Christ, which is supported by the consciousness of the early church, and the progress from Galatians and the Thessalonian epistles to Romans and the Corinthian epistles in the reflection of this tradition about Jesus, furnish evidence which strongly favors not a study of the Logia by Paul, but a meditation upon and a growing assimilation of the "mind" of Christ, given him by a quite complete knowledge of the materials found in the synoptic records.

6. This high probability, which recognizes divergences which exist, but accounts for them chiefly on the ground of personality, varying purpose, changed historical situation, and natural development, gives to the genetic elements of the New Testament more importance than to its variants and locates the unity of the New Testament in the historical Jesus who, because of his significance for all human life, became the exalted Christ.

VII. Summary:

1. How far is the early Christian tradition which Paul learned to know identical with the synoptic material? Since this tradition was not static, but dynamic, our knowledge of it must be incomplete, if not inaccurate.

A. Sources for this tradition are the synoptics, the Pauline epistles, Acts, and I Peter. The time of writing, purpose, and questioned authenticity of other writings of the New Testament lessen their value.

(1) The synoptics, written a generation after the happening of the events described, when closely compared, contain evidence of a tradition that was developed probably in the

interest of later needs and desires. Their historical value is greatly heightened by the probable use of written sources, and Mark and 2, older and less subject to change, are doubtless nearer the tradition Paul learned to know than the gospels as a whole. On these two sources the influence of Paul is admittedly negligible. Indeed if there is any, it is strange there is not more. While chronology bows to topical order, due to a didactic rather than a historical aim, the value of the synoptic records is further increased by the similarity of their general outline to that of the preaching and teaching of Acts and by sign of resistance to tampering of tradition to develop.

(2) The historical value of Acts is heightened by its purpose and its probable use of written sources. Whatever the authenticity of the speeches, Paul's at Miletus has high value and Peter's admittedly contain primitive Christology. There is a growing tendency to regard I Peter as genuine, but other non-Pauline epistolary writings are either so dated or questioned that they can neither greatly add to nor detract from the evidence found elsewhere.

(3) Though Paul's writings are the nearest to the events described, their value here is lessened by their epistolary character, as well as by their purpose. Paul's presuppositions of the gospel material and his references to it may be used to reconstruct the tradition of his day and his striking similarity to it in spirit, if not in word, strengthens our thought of its genuineness. If he knew this tradition half way between its starting point and its written form, his deviations from the latter may be as near the actual as

the synoptic record. His independence lies not in his facts, but in his interpretation of them. The facts of Christian tradition he could have secured from Peter, James, the Lord's brother, Mark, Barnabas, Junias, the house of Alexander and Rufus, or by contact with Christians during his sojourn in Syria, the persecutions, or his sojourn at Damascus and elsewhere.

B. (a) Paul an inventor or innovator in his day, because he knew little or nothing about the earthly Jesus? If he knew much about him and had continued his work, what is the evidence for it? Why has he not said more about it and why does he seem so much to differ from Jesus?

A. What are the implications of a denial to Paul of vital knowledge about Jesus? To do this it is necessary to minimize his reflection of such material in his epistles, to magnify his claim of independence from human instruction, and to deduce his new faith from his older ideas, from his logic whether by the "Christ" or psychological theories.

(1) Such a denial involves the idea that the fundamental in Christianity is teaching rather than life. If so, Jesus should not have been so indifferent to the preservation of his teaching and Paul's new belief, if not from Jesus but from logic, should have a closer relation to the soil on which it grew. Apostolic thought can be derived from the "mind" and person of Jesus, but this denial involves the reverse.

(2) It does not explain the facts. How unnatural that Paul should have persecuted the Christians, later associated with eye-witnesses, sought to convince the Gentile world,

and all without the facts! How could one understand Paul's consciousness of unity with the other church, her approval of him, and the sense he had of the common gospel preached by all his colleagues? Without the facts of early tradition about Jesus he could not have met the queries of his followers and other demands of his missionary work.

3. A social reason for the controversy he had with the Jews. What corrected his earlier views? Could he have affected the change in his missionary work of ignorance of or indifference to the tradition about Jesus.

(5) To what extent is Christianity free from historical facts? Paul was not free, consciously at least. His connections with it are too many and too close to be accidental. The "Jesus or Christ" question is a modern and not a Pauline problem.

II. Factors that determine the general method to be followed.

(1) Our knowledge of the Christian tradition Paul learned to know is indefinite, because it was about half way between the history and the present form of the synoptics.

(2) Jesus and Paul were both Jews and contemporaries, and had a common inheritance and "Zeitgeist".

(3) Paul's use of the Old Testament was not always accurate and his exegesis was faulty. If he adapted scripture to suit his purpose, so much for tradition, as yet fluid in its transmission?

(4) Paul could not and did not slavishly copy, so similarity in spirit rather than in phraseology should be expected.

C..The method.

(1) The similarities between that of Paul's and those - the East rules are excluded - and the synoptics, especially the Markan elements will be compared and studied.

(2) Because of the common Jewish background, current "coinage", and our indefinite knowledge of early Christian tradition, unimportant words and phrases will give way to key words, thought and spirit.

(3) Paul's reflection of the Gospel material will be compared with that of other writers to detect the extent to which he altered primitive Christianity, if that happened at all.

(4) Divergences will be accounted for, though they do not really affect the probability of dependence of Paul on Jesus, if there is sufficient evidence to indicate it.

3. The life of Jesus as reflected by Paul shows that the Paul, who is a Pharisee was a traditionalist, has kept that spirit and so knew the facts of early Christian tradition.

A. Jesus was born of a woman and under the law, from the tribe of Judah and the seed of David, had brothers, chose twelve disciples, lived as an unknown servant, poor, hated, persecuted and crucified, an example for all believers, was betrayed just after the Supper, was nailed on the cross, died, was buried, and then rose from the dead. There is reason to believe that his account of his "appearances" may be more trustworthy than those of the synoptics. Not so much of this compact outline of the Gospels is given in Acts, I Peter, or by the Epistles of Ignatius and it would be untrue to say that that is all their

writers know. Just as dangerous would be such an assertion as to Paul's knowledge of what he does not mention.

B. Among Paul's possible allusions to Jesus' life, more open to other construction, are: the sending out of the twelve (I Cor. 9:1), Peter's "confession" at Caesarea Philippi (Gal. 1:18), the transfiguration (II Cor. 3:13), John's protest against the casting out of spirits by others (I Cor. 12:3), and the poverty of Jesus (II Cor. 8:9).

C. Did Paul know Jesus personally? Paul's words, I Cor. 9:1 and 15:8 and II Cor. 5:16 are ambiguous and have led to much pro and con. He probably never knew him, though he may have seen him.

4. Paul reflects so much of the spirit as well as thought of Jesus' teaching and it is so largely non-Jewish that dependence seems clear.

A. He makes five quotations from Jesus, appeals to his authority

(1). I Th. 4:15 on the fate of those who have died before the Parousia neither quotes a synoptic passage nor gives the latter's so much interest on that theme, but is doubtless in part from Jesus.

(2) I Cor. 7:10f. is presumably Mk. 10:11f., and Paul's unnatural order, that of codex sinaiticus, may be that of the original. In this context Paul emphatically distinguishes his word from that of the Lord.

(3) I Cor. 9:14 is identical, not verbally, but in spirit with Lk. 10:7 and Mt. 10:10.

(4) Acts 20:35 is a word of Jesus not found in the gospels, and creates the presumption that where there is no contact

with the gospels, Paul may often be near the tradition about Jesus.

(5) I Cor. 11:23 so closely resembles the synoptic account of the Lord's Supper that it shows Paul's strong historical interest in the facts of primitive Christianity.

These quotations from the sayings of Jesus imply an early collection of his words. More important for this investigation is the fact that they establish Paul's intimate knowledge of the tradition about Jesus' teaching, even though they are not all located. He uses them as the very highest authority and that reduces the possibility of his indifference to the thought of his Lord to an anomaly.

B. Further allusions to the teaching of Jesus in Paul's writings.

(1) The "Gospel of Christ" requires the subjective genitive, the genitive of authorship, to distinguish between it and other gospels which were presumably about him also.

(2) Paul is not so indifferent to the Kingdom of God message, as he appears, for the idea is often present when the term is not. When he uses it, he never feels it necessary to explain it, and like that of Jesus, it is both present and future, within and without, ethical and eschatological and a gift as well as something to be achieved. "In the Kingdom" to Jesus becomes "in Christ" to Paul.

(3) Both Jesus and Paul keep the same monotheistic emphasis, assign the same attributes to God, think of him as a Father who cares for his own, and give him the same

place in the worship of a believer.

(4) Is Paul's thought of Jesus the continuation of the latter's Messianic consciousness? Jesus' claim to be more than ordinary man and that he could forgive sins gives warrant for much that Paul says about him. The resurrection is not enough to explain the later faith about Jesus. The indelible impression of what Jesus was must be added. With him Paul agreed in his departure from Jewish Messianic thought. More vital and significant here than similarity is continuity and Paul is not much different from the early church at this point. Else how could he have secured her approval? Then the titles he uses so variously for Jesus he never explains to his own or to other churches. The pre-existence of Jesus was unimportant and his co-equality with God was not absolute to Paul.

(5) Jesus seemed to have a different attitude toward the law in principle and in practice and that may explain why Paul makes no direct appeal to his authority and why it is never used against him in his controversy. To both it is a good; to both it is subsidiary and can never remove what was established earlier. To both love is its fulfilment and both possessed the inner spirit which killed it. Increased sin, an effect of the law to Jesus, was the purpose of the law to Paul, not much different ultimately. Paul's thought of it was the result of experience with it and the observation of the power of Jesus and the Christian message.

(6) How may righteousness be secured? What was the relation

of the one way only, which Paul saw, to the thought of Jesus? Jesus said little or nothing about his place in the salvation of men, and while Pharisaism helped to construe it, it never gave him the materials. *λύτρον* in Mk.10:45 is thought by many to be Pauline, but the Marcan passage comes from Isa.53 in which *λύτρον* is not found. Its omission from Mk.10:45 does not affect the sense, so the passage may come from Jesus who thought of salvation as the giving of a life of love and obedience to the will of God. To Paul's similar thought the death of Jesus was but one step in a life spent to free men from their sin. Both thought salvation a gift and as a requisite Paul's "be reconciled" is an equivalent of Jesus' "repent".

(7) Jesus said little evidently about the church, though it was implicit in his choice of disciples and in various instructions he gave them many of which Paul reflects. Neither thought baptism an essential, though perhaps not unimportant. If Paul converted the Lord's Supper into a memorial rite, as Jesus did not intend, his departure from Jesus was unconscious.

(8) To both Jesus and Paul religion and morality are one, the pure heart more than external conduct, being than doing. To both the ethical is the test of the spiritual and their moral ideal is identical. Their ethical agreement is so exact that a lone disagreement is striking. To Jesus the average ruler is a tyrant, while to Paul rulers are God's servants. Both express the non-Jewish thought that life may be gained by losing it. In their thought of sin Paul shows more interest in its nature and origin, but they agree as to its reality, its hold on life, its opposition to the will of God, and that it separates from him. To

both love is the sum of all, in its personal liberty and lends to conduct and worship its real value.

(9) The theme of eschatology has less value for this study, because of its great amount of contact with late Judaistic literature, e.g. the Apocalypse of Ezra. Jesus says almost nothing about the resurrection, but Paul quotes him on it. Both probably thought of the resurrected body, as of neither flesh nor immaterial spirit, but as of a heavenly or ghost-like body. To both the judge of all life is now God, now Jesus, and to both the Parousia is to be visible. Both strangely state that the end is at hand and that the present is likely to continue.

(10) The use of the Aramaic words, "amen", "Halleluia", and "Abba, Father", is doubtless the result of liturgical use in Judea and so stands as a witness of Paul's connection with Jesus.

3. Summary. Out of 70 synoptic passages, used here in important comparisons, about 50 are from Mark or Q. Much the most of the "peculiar" material is found in the institutional aspects of their teachings. All the passages used in (8) and (4) on their thought of the Kingdom and of Jesus are from Mark and Q. These two sources are older, nearer Paul, so superior and similar between them and Paul, hence the probability of connection all the greater, even though some of the "peculiar" may be equal in value. In content the views of the kingdom held by Paul and Jesus are in harmony. They possess the same interests in their view of God, and similar attitudes toward the law. There exists in their

thought of salvation and of what Jesus was, at least a continuity. Nowhere are they in more straining agreement than in their ethical principles. These and other facts, supported by the consciousness of Paul, the attitude of the early church toward him, the demands of missionary activity, and the extent of the knowledge of the pure tradition reflected in the writings of Luke, Peter (?), and Ignatius, constitute evidence that nothing short of dependence upon Jesus can explain.

The similarity, however, is not verbal, but that of spirit or general thought. Paul seems to have believed that his union with Christ had the result that his own mental processes were inspired and that his own conclusions reached by brooding over the "mind" of Christ were in harmony with and so had the authority of Christ.

This theory avoids difficulties, accounts for the facts of the life and consciousness of Paul and the early church, most fully illuminates the history as well as the literature, and admirably synthesizes the stronger features of other theories.

5. For all the evidence here presented the question still arises, "Why does Paul not contain yet more echoes of the synoptic gospels?"

1. To some Paul appears indifferent to the gospel tradition, because he proves the Messiahship of Jesus from the Old Testament rather than from the miracles, the life and work of Jesus, strange only from our modern point of view. Others, who do not find the thing, if the word is lacking, feel this indifference because a full resumé of the Kingdom message is wanting.

2. Differences in the reproduction of the tradition must occur, because of the different personality, temperament, home and training. Paul knew the Greek world and its ideas, and the audiences were different. These influences would naturally lessen the amount of verbal reproduction.

3. The presuppositions on every page of Paul's writings show they were written to an already instructed people, who knew more, too, than Luke tells in the missionary preaching of Acts.

4. The influence of the cross on the disciples can hardly be over-exaggerated, as is shown by the amount of space given Passion week in the synoptics. Even greater was the effect of the belief in the imminence of the Parousia.

5. All of Paul's writing was not for its own sake, but largely because of the Parousia-belief intensely practical. He wrote ^{not} to solve problems of speculation, but to meet concrete needs. It was a kind of fanaticism at Thessalonica, factions and immoral practices at Corinth, or to prepare for a visit to Rome. Even his quotations have, every one of them, this character. Had certain situations not arisen, these sayings of Jesus would not have been cited. Even Gal. 1:13 with its statement of freedom from tradition is "occasional!" The point at issue is not gospel facts, but their interpretation and the authority of his commission which he strongly defends. This characteristic not only introduces bias rather than balance into the writings, but would tend to eliminate historical references.

6. The argument from silence appears quite untrustworthy here and is more so, when Paul's reflection of this material is compared with that of Acts with its synoptic author, and I Peter,

the probable work of an eyewitness. Still truer, when compared with I Clement and Ignatius.

G. Paul's thought of revelation, his meditation upon the "mind" of Christ, and his experience within and without with that evangelical tradition would tend to reduce the amount of his reproduction of the synoptic materials.

H. To turn from the synoptics to Paul's epistles is to enter a different atmosphere. Some say the simple moral teaching of Jesus has been perverted into a theology. Some are only apparent, but that there are real differences is undeniable. Did Paul alter primitive Christianity?

A. Among the differences is the thought of Christ as pre-existent, as the second Adam, and as equal with God. They are in part accounted for by the reasons of G,B(above), personality and training along with others. Paul's experience with sin, his "before" and "after", the intervening death and resurrection, and the needs of Gentile converts, together with the imminence of the Parousia, necessitated differences between his message and that of Jesus.

B. The new, Paul found. With the leaders of the early church he agrees. Peter whether speaking to Jew in Jerusalem or to Cornelius and his kinsmen never recognizes the observance of the law as necessary. With the early church he kept the law, but it was not necessary and that position of Peter and Paul, not that of the Pharisees, at the council in Jerusalem represented the early church. Paul did not ignore the council decree, as some say, but converted it with all rules into principles such as "Give no occasion of stumbling."

C. Paul thought of Jesus much as the early church and agreed with it in his use of the argument from scripture. Both he and the early church stressed the death and resurrection of Jesus and because of it both added the thought of Isaiah's Servant of Jehovah whose suffering also was for the sake of the world. The church very early taught that sins were forgiven through Jesus and that his death was the purpose of God. The two they soon put together, so Paul and the early church were one in Christology.

D. The charge that Paul perverted the gospel is due to two errors: (1) Paul was a systematic thinker or theologian. (2) Jesus expressed the moral apart from the religious.

E. The mutual attitude and consciousness of Paul and the early church supports the idea of oneness between them. It is confirmed by Paul's high regard for the church at Jerusalem which gave him its approval, and by the way in which tradition connects Peter and Paul with the church at Rome.

7. Conclusions. (Pp. 152-157)

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